THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO THE MOST NOBLE

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN,

THIS VOLUME

OF THE

HISTORY OF GREECE,

IS,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF RESPECT,

INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS LORDSHIP'S

MOST FAITHFUL,

AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

CONTENTS.

Page

Chap. XI.—*Affairs of Greece from the Conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, to the Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks under Xenophon* 1

Chap. XII.—*The Affairs of Greece, from the Commencement of the memorable Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks under Xenophon, to the Peace of Antalcidas.* - - 55

Chap. XIII.—*Affairs of Greece from the Peace of Antalcidas, to the Battle of Midea* 114

Chap. XIV.—*Affairs of Greece, from the Battle of Midea, to the Conclusion of the Social War* 156

Chap. XV.—*Affairs of Greece and Macedonia, from the Conclusion of the Social War, until the Birth of Alexander* - - 207

Chap. XVI.—*Affairs of Greece and Macedonia, from the Birth of Alexander to the Conclusion of the Sacred War* - - 237

Chap. XVII.—*Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Conclusion of the Phocian War, to the Death of Philip* - - 273

Chap. XVIII.—*Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Death of Philip, to the Battle of Arbela, which secured Alexander the dominion of Asia* - - 309

Chap.

Chap. XIX.—*Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Battle of Arbela, to the Death of Alexander the Great* - - - 354

Chap. XX.—*Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Death of Alexander the Great to the Battle of Ipsus* - - - 385

Chap. XXI.—*Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Battle of Ipsus, to the Time that those Countries became Provinces of Rome* 430

THE

HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER XI.

Affairs of Greece, from the Conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, to the Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks under Xenophon.

WHEN Lysander had demolished the walls and fortifications of Athens, it still remained for him to reduce the island of Samos, which was honourably distinguished by its being the last settlement in the east that opposed the ambition of Pericles, and was now the last which submitted to the arms of Lysander. The Spartan government, with an unaccountable infatuation, ruled the islands and cities that voluntarily accepted the yoke, or reluctantly surrendered to the power of Lacedæmon, in an equally arbitrary and tyrannical manner. In every place there existed some hostile factions, which danger or ambition had fostered, and the party that seemed to possess most craft and least patriotism was always preferred by Lysander. Over the cabal which thus appeared likely to favour the views and the interest of Sparta he placed a Lacedæmonian governor, on whose severity to the subject, and obsequiousness to his patron, he could faithfully

faithfully depend. The citadels had mercenary soldiers for their garrison; the faction in power tyrannised over the rest of the inhabitants, whom they had formerly envied as rivals, or dreaded as enemies; and every species of licentiousness and disorder was exercised with a boldness and presumption, that nothing could equal, but the tameness and servility with which it was endured. The Asiatic Greeks no longer complained of the exorbitant contributions, that had been formerly exacted from them, when Lysander compelled them to pay the enormous tribute of a thousand talents. The dishonourable yoke of Persia, and the stern dominion of Athens, they had once greatly regretted; but both these were light, compared to the oppressive cruelty and exactions of Sparta and Lysander.

Authors have, in general, ascribed the unrelenting severity of Sparta to the arrogance and cruelty, that Lysander naturally possessed, and which had been heightened and confirmed by the sudden and unexpected exaltation of his fortune. He had been the simple citizen of a small, and, at that time, an unfortunate community, but was now become the arbiter of the Grecian nation. To him Athens had submitted, and acknowledged his authority; the small republics of Greece courted his favour and protection; venal poets and orators extolled his fame and exploits, in odes and panegyrics; crowns and statues were decreed to him; and he was honoured and worshipped with hymns and sacrifices. No other Spartan general would, however, in all probability, have acted in a different and milder manner. For, if we allow that the personal character of Lysander was haughty and cruel,

cruel, yet we must at the same time candidly confess, that the nature of the institutions of Lycurgus, and the ambitious views of Sparta, would seem to demand and justify uncommon rigour to humbled foes; and whatever might be the private manners and temper of the general, his country was accountable for the public injustice and cruelties committed by him with impunity. If we examine indeed the form of the administration of that state, it will be obvious, that five or six thousand Spartans tyrannised over thirty thousand Lacedæmonians. These, on the other hand, acted in a still more rigorous manner toward a hundred thousand slaves. And when these several ranks and degrees of men were united as troops of the Lacedæmonian commonwealth, it is but natural to suppose, that the Spartans, Lacedæmonians, and Helotes, would tyrannise with the emulation of cruelty over their unfortunate and conquered subjects.

From the hardships and cruelties inflicted on the Athenians, we may collect the arbitrary and severe treatment of the Spartans toward their Asiatic colonies and dependencies. The Athenians had surrendered their fleet; their walls and fortifications were demolished; the citadel was garrisoned with Lacedæmonian troops in the pay of Athens, and under the command of Callibius, a Spartan; and their government was usurped by thirty men, the dependants and the creatures of Lysander and of Sparta. Critias and Theramenes were at the head of this aristocratical council, the members of which have been justly branded in history with the title of the thirty tyrants. Pretending to deliver the state from the malice of informers, and the turbulence

B. C. 404.

bulence of seditious demagogues, they destroyed the most valuable and virtuous persons of the community. Niceratus, the son of Nicias, who, possessing the wealth, inherited also the splendid virtues of his father, and was extremely beloved by the people, was condemned to death. Leon, the most public spirited, and Antiphon, the most renowned for his eloquence, of any of his contemporaries, suffered the same fate; and Thrasybulus and Anytus were driven into banishment. The powerful were regarded as dangerous; and the opulent accused as criminal; strangers and citizens suffered the same fate.

Lysias and his family were persecuted by the tyrants, amid this general wreck of whatever was most worthy and respectable. This man was the son of Cephalus, an ingenious orator, and a Syracusan by birth. Having acquired the favour and esteem of Pericles, Cephalus, through the persuasions and the protection of that great statesman, settled at Athens, and rose to opulence and honours. He lived thirty years in that city; and so innocent and inoffensive was his deportment, that his character escaped the enmity and persecution, to which the wealthy Athenians were commonly subject; and amidst continual trials and impeachments, he never appeared, in any litigation, either as plaintiff or defendant. His sons, Lysias and Polemarchus, with the fortune, possessed the virtues of their father. They carried on, by the labour of one hundred and twenty slaves, a large manufacture of shields, from the profits of which they contributed largely to supply the exigences and expenses of the state. Though possessed of the most valuable accomplishments, both natural and acquired,

quired, they kept themselves aloof from public transactions; and, contented with domestic felicity, sought not the privileges and rank of Athenian citizens. But the cruelty of the thirty tyrants, from whose rapacious eye neither obscurity could conceal, nor merit defend, would not permit them to remain in safety. Polemarchus suffered death, and Lysias endured many present ills, but was afterward instrumental in liberating his country from that detestable tyranny, and in bringing its authors and abettors to condign punishment.

Lysias himself relates the history of his persecutions, and tells us, "Theognis and Piso, who were members of the tyrannical council, informed their associates, that several strangers in Athens were dissatisfied with the government. This served as a pretext for rifling the effects of those unfortunate men; and was a measure of the tyrants, not only to serve their avaricious purposes, but to insure the future stability of their usurpation. The preservation of their power depended on the influence of corruption, and the mercenary aid of foreign troops. Money, therefore, became of indispensable necessity. To attain their object, the life of man was held in no esteem. Their desires were to amass wealth; and to gratify them, ten strangers were devoted to destruction. They contrived, however, to include in this number two who were poor, to persuade the Athenians, that the remaining eight were condemned, not for the sake of their riches, but to preserve the public tranquillity; as if the interest of the state had ever been the concern of that tyrannical cabal!

"Their design was executed with inhuman cruelty.

cruelty. The unhappy victims were seized in their beds at supper, in the privacy of domestic retirement. Whilst I was exercising the rites of hospitality, my guests were rudely dismissed, and I was delivered into the hands of Piso. His accomplices being busy in the shop, taking an inventory of my slaves and effects, I embraced the opportunity of interrogating him, whether money could save my life. Yes, replied he, a considerable sum. I told him, I would give him a talent, if he would suffer me to escape. To this he consented; and such was my present situation, that I felt a momentary consolation, in depending on the faith of a man, who (I was well assured) despised all laws human and divine. No sooner, however, had I opened the coffer, to pay him the talent, than he commanded his attendants to seize the contents, which consisted of three talents of silver, a hundred daricks, three hundred cyzicenes, and three silver cups. I begged him to allow me a talent for defraying the expenses of my journey; but he bid me be thankful for my escape.

"As we went out together, we met Melobius and Mnesitheides, his associates, who inquired whither we were going. He replied, to search the house of Polemarchus my brother. They desired him to proceed; but commanded me to follow them to the house of Damasippus. Piso whispered me to be silent, and fear nothing, for he would speedily come thither. When we arrived, we found Theognis guarding several of my unfortunate companions. I increased the number of the prisoners; but having an opportunity to represent to Damasippus my innocence and misfortunes, I intreated him by our former friendship, to

use

use his influence in my behalf, that I might be allowed to escape. He told me, that Theognis might easily be persuaded to betray the trust confided to him, through his love of money, and that he would intercede with him for that purpose.

"While Damasippus and Theognis were engaged in conversation on this interesting and important subject, knowing the house, I escaped through three secret passages, that happened to be left open, and unguarded. Having happily reached the country-house of Archimaus, I immediately sent this confidential friend to the city, to obtain information respecting my brother. The intelligence he brought me was, that the tyrant Eratosthenes had dragged Polemarchus from the road, and had lodged him in prison, where he was compelled to drink the baneful hemlock. Having received these melancholy tidings, I set sail for Megara under cover of the night, and happily arrived there in safety. Our houses were plundered, our effects seized, and the whole of our substance, not excepting even the smallest trifle belonging to us, became the property of those cruel and avaricious tyrants; and the brutal and merciless Melobius tore the gold rings out of the ears of the wife of Polemarchus."

These abominable acts of cruelty were justified on the pretence, that they were performed by the authority of the senate. This servile assembly the thirty tyrants had allowed to subsist, as the instruments and accomplices of their avarice and guilt. In a city, however, that had been accustomed to the utmost liberty of opinion, and freedom of debate, it was not to be expected, that any body of men, whether of five hundred

or

or of thirty, should continue to agree in pursuing the same odious and oppressive measures.

Theramenes was the first in the number of the thirty, in whom symptoms of repentance for these cruel and inhuman proceedings became visible. The speeches and behaviour of this bold and active partisan, who had been the principal author of the usurpation, influenced by the humanity of his nature, or by the singular inconstancy of his temper, indicated a resolution and design to destroy the work of his own hands, and to free his country from the tyranny of the thirty. He strenuously endeavoured to save the innocent and unhappy victims, whom the fury of his colleagues daily devoted to destruction. The people, by his persuasions, and under his protection, assembled for debate, and expressed their resentment or despair; and the tyrants began to fear, lest their government should be dissolved by the same means, and by the same man, who had established and subverted the short-lived tyranny of the four hundred. The present usurpation was indeed defended by a Lacedæmonian garrison; but Theramenes had great influence over the foreign troops, and still greater over the Athenian citizens. When the thirty considered the weak and precarious tenure of their authority, and the unjust and cruel proceedings of their administration, they felt pain for the past, and fear for the future. In order, however, that they might prop and support the already tottering fabric of their power, they invited three thousand of the people, to participate in the advantages and dangers of their government, and the rest were disarmed and used with still greater violence and injustice than ever.

In

In vain did Theramenes oppose the base, unjust, and tyrannical proceedings of his colleagues in office. Critias was the principal, to whom they submitted implicitly, and who encouraged them to proceed boldly, and remove every obstacle that opposed the unlimited gratification of their passions. The delicacy, real or affected, of Theramenes was, he said, wholly inconsistent with the present administration, and his safety incompatible with their own. The conduct of many, any more than that of one tyrant, could not admit of too minute and laborious investigation. These sentiments were received by the other tyrants with marks of approbation. They had, however, resolved, that none of their number should be put to death, without the benefits and privileges of a trial before the senate. This advantage was also extended to the three thousand intrusted with arms; and sufficiently denoted the miserable and helpless condition of the other inhabitants.

Theramenes, therefore, was summoned to take his trial before this servile and obsequious senate; and the tyrants surrounded the assembly with armed men. When the accused appeared before this tribunal, Critias addressed the court in the following remarkable and memorable speech. "When you consider, O Athenians, that revolutions in government are always attended with much bloodshed, you will, I am persuaded, be of opinion, that the great numbers, who have suffered death, have fallen a necessary sacrifice to the interest and prosperity of Athens. The form of administration now adopted by the community was actually imposed by the Lacedæmonians, as the condition of the public safety. That we might

might maintain the authority of this government, those turbulent and licentious demagogues, whose seditious proceedings entailed upon the state all its past calamities, have been carefully removed. It is our duty to forward and persevere in this useful and necessary work, and to destroy without fear or compassion all, who would injure the tranquillity of the state.

"If a man of this temper should be found to exist in our own order, he ought to be punished with double rigour, and considered not only as an enemy, but as a traitor. Theramenes was the person, that concluded the treaty of peace with the Lacedæmonian commonwealth. He dissolved the popular form of government, and directed and approved the first and boldest measures of our administration; but no sooner did difficulties and dangers threaten us, than he deserted his associates, declared himself the opposer of their designs, and undertook the defence of the populace. This inconsistency and irresolution might, indeed, have been expected from a man, whose perfidious and changeable conduct was well known. His father was a strong partisan of democratical principles, and the son began his political career in defence and promotion of the same opinions. In order, however, that he might ingratiate himself with the aristocratical party of the state, he changed the system of his policy. It was this man, who established and dissolved the government of the four hundred; and every part of his conduct proves, not only that he is unfit to govern, but unworthy to live."

Theramenes then rose to defend himself, and acknowledged, that he had often changed his conduct; but affirmed his principles to be still the same.

same. He had always endeavoured, he said, during the democratical form of government, to maintain the just rights, and to repress the insolence and licentiousness of the people. When, in compliance with the commands of Sparta, it was expedient to assume an aristocracy, he had always exerted himself in support of the legal authority, while at the same time, he frankly confessed, he opposed and deprecated the tyranny of the magistrates. Under every form to government he had been, and would continue to be, the friend and the promoter of moderation and justice. Convinced that those virtues alone could give stability and permanence to any system of administration, whether aristocratical or popular, he should ever recommend and enforce them.

Of this speech the senators, unawed by the presence and authority of Critias and his associates, murmured their approbation. But the furious tyrant immediately commanded the armed men to show their daggers in the senate-house, and stepping forward, said, "It is the duty of a prudent magistrate, O senators! to hinder the deception and the danger of his friends. The countenance of those brave youths, who are in possession of weapons, proves their resolution to prevent you from saving a man, whose only aim is to subvert the government of his country. With the general consent, therefore, I erase from the list of those that have a right to be tried before the senate the name of Theramenes; and, with the approbation of my colleagues, condemn him to immediate death."

As soon as Theramenes heard this bloody and unexpected sentence pronounced against him, he started

started from his seat, and ran to the altar of the senate-house. He then requested the compassion and assistance of the spectators, who were, he said, equally interested with him in this cruel and unjust proceeding; since their names were also obnoxious to be struck out, which would subject them to the same punishment. The senators, however, terrified at the sight of armed force, durst not aid or intercede for him. He was dragged from the altar, and hurried away to execution.

As he passed through the market-place, the unhappy Theramenes, the victim of tyranny, implored the favour and protection of his fellow-citizens, whom his valour and eloquence had often defended. But the impudent and brutal Satyrus, the principal member of vengeance in authority and cruelty, sternly told him, if he continued his cries and lamentations, he should soon bewail in good earnest. "And shall I not," said Theramenes, "though I should hold my peace?" When he drank the fatal hemlock, he poured a libation on the ground, with a health to honest Critias. This circumstance proves, that in the moment of death, his fortitude and facetiousness did not desert him.

By the death of Theramenes the tyrants were delivered from every restraint, which could tend to control their insolence, and moderate their passions. They might now indulge in all the licentiousness of outrage and injustice, without fear of reproach, or the danger of resistance from the people. The miserable objects of their unbridled fury were driven from the city, from Piræus, from their houses, their farms, and their villages, which this odious and detestable tyranny

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ranny divided among themselves: nor did their persecution terminate here; the thirty published a mandate, enforced by the authority of the Spartan government, that no Grecian city or settlement should receive the unfortunate fugitives. With this command, however, the sacred laws of hospitality would not comply; and Thebes, Megara, and Argos, were crowded with exiles from Athens.

But while the tyrants exercised this oppressive cruelty, which they probably considered as necessary for establishing their usurpation in permanence, and for insuring the safety of themselves, the downfall of their administration was thereby precipitated. The Athenians, whose sufferings seemed no longer supportable, wanted only a leader to rouse them to arms, and to conduct them to victory and vengeance. The Lacedæmonians were at this time engaged in extending and completing their conquests over the colonies of Asia; and, therefore, could not well increase the garrison in Athens. The abilities and resentment of Alcibiades pointed him out, as the person most able to undertake the arduous and honourable design of reassembling the scattered fugitives, and of animating them with courage to attempt the recovery of their country. After the Lacedæmonians had become masters of the Hellespont, that illustrious exile had been driven from the possession of his fortress in Thrace, and had acquired a settlement under Pharnabazus, in the little village of Grynium, in Phrygia. Here, undisturbed by the noise and dangers of war and politics, he passed his time in obscurity, in the midst of love and friendship;

friendship; but the malice and fears of the tyrants still pursued him to this last retreat.

Lysander informed Pharnabazus, that the safety of the form of government, which had been recently established at Athens, required the sacrifice of Alcibiades. It was a mode of administration, he said, which it was the interest of Sparta and Persia to maintain. Pharnabazus, however, inclined to this bloody measure, more from private reasons than the advice of Lysander. He sent, therefore, a band of armed Phrygians, to surprise and assassinate the Athenian exile. Such, however, was the acknowledged bravery of Alcibiades, that they durst neither attack him in broad day, nor by open force. The obscurity of the night was chosen for committing this cruel and bloody deed. They set fire to his house, which, according to the materials used in the buildings of that country, was composed of light and combustible substances; and thus evinced their cowardice as well as their baseness.

Alcibiades, alarmed by the crackling of the flames, snatched up his sword, and twisting his mantle round his left arm, rushed through the burning edifice, accompanied by his faithful Arcadian friend, and his affectionate mistress Timandra. The dastardly Phrygians, declining to meet the fury of his assault, covered him with a shower of javelins. Thus fell a man, whose various character can only be represented in the wonderful changes of fortune that happened to him. Though eminently adorned with the advantages of birth, valour, wealth, and eloquence, and possessing uncommon natural and acquired endowments, being deficient in discre-

tion

tion and probity, he involved his country and himself in inextricable difficulties.

Though the life of Alcibiades had been extremely pernicious to his country, yet his death at this time might have been considered as a misfortune, had not the Athenian exiles at Thebes possessed a leader, who had all his abilities and excellencies, without his vices and defects. Thrasybulus was a man of a very enterprising spirit: he was a passionate lover of liberty; and while he usually complied with the dictates of justice and humanity, he possessed magnanimity to conceive, abilities to conduct, and perseverance to accomplish, the boldest and most arduous designs. He communicated his intentions to the unfortunate exiles at Thebes and Megara, and proposed that a body of seventy of them should march and seize the important fortress of Phyla, which was situated on the frontier of the territory of Attica and Bœotia. This daring and unexpected enterprise caused alarm and consternation among the tyrants, and they speedily marched with some of their best troops to dislodge the new garrison. The natural strength of the place, however, baffled all their attempts; and when they proposed to invest the fortress, the sudden and unexpected violence of a tempest, which was accompanied with a great fall of snow, compelled them to desist from their undertaking. They retreated precipitately to Athens, and left behind part of their attendants and baggage, which fell into the hands of the enemy. The strength of Phyla, augmented by the continued confluence of Athenian exiles, was soon increased from a garrison of seventy to seven hundred men.

The tyrants had now just cause of alarm, and dreaded lest the city should be attacked, and the country ravaged by these daring invaders. They sent several troops of cavalry, and the greater part of the hired mercenaries from Lacedæmon, who garrisoned Athens, with orders to encamp in a woody country, about fifteen furlongs from Phyla, that they might watch the motions, and repress the incursions of the enemy. Thrasybulus, however, silently marching from Phyla, during the night, posted his forces in the intricacies of the forest, and suddenly attacked the Lacedæmonians before they had time to recover from their confusion. They immediately fled; but the wary general, afraid of an ambush, followed them to no great distance. In the pursuit, however, one hundred and twenty men were slain. Thrasybulus erected a trophy, and conveyed the baggage and arms of the enemy in triumph to Phyla.

The tyrants were so terrified with the news of this defeat, that the city seemed no longer able to protect them. They considered the neighbouring town of Eleusis as more capable of defence, and therefore removed thither. The three thousand men that were entrusted with arms accompanied them, and assisted in the destruction of those Eleusinians, whom they suspected of disaffection towards their usurpation. Pretending to muster the inhabitants of that city, they led those unhappy men through a narrow gate to the shore, and having disarmed them, put them to death.

In the mean time Phyla continued to receive fresh accessions of strength. The orator Lysias collected three hundred men to take vengeance

on

on the authors of his brother's death and his own misfortunes. With these supplies Thrasybulus was encouraged to attempt surprising Piræus, the inhabitants of which, being principally tradesmen, merchants, and mariners, bore with indignation and impatience the injuries and cruelties of a council of ten, the subordinate instruments and obsequious imitators of the thirty tyrants. The enemy brought forth all their force to defeat the enterprise, but Thrasybulus, intercepting their march to the place, occupied a rising ground with his troops, which was of signal advantage to him.

Before he led his forces to the engagement, he endeavoured to animate their valour and resentment, and reminded them, that those troops on the right were the Lacedæmonians, whom they had engaged and routed the other day; and that those on the left were commanded by the thirty tyrants, who had driven them into banishment, confiscated all their property, and murdered their friends and relations. "The enemy," said he, "are arranged in a deep and close order; they must be obliged to ascend the eminence; the javelins thrown from their rear cannot possibly reach beyond their van; while, on the contrary, our situation is such, that no weapon need be discharged in vain. Let us then avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded us by Heaven; and every one remember, that a more honourable victory cannot be achieved, or a more glorious death obtained."

The sacred authority of the priest enforced the admonition and exhortation of the general, and promised them complete success, provided they abstained from the engagement until one of their

their number should be killed or wounded. “Then,” added he, “I will conduct you to victory, or perish in the contest.” He had no sooner spoken than the enemy threw javelins; and the troops moved to the attack. The engagement was neither long nor bloody; but Critias and Hippomachus, the two most violent of the tyrants, were killed. The enemy being greatly superior in number, Thrasybulus judiciously avoided to pursue them, lest, if he descended the hill, they should rally and renew the battle. But checking the ardour of his troops, he caused the herald Cleocritus to proclaim aloud, “Wherefore, O men of Athens! would you avoid your countrymen? Why have you driven them from the city, and thirst for their blood? Are we not united by religious, civil, and domestic ties? Often have we joined together to fight the enemies of our country and our liberty. In this unnatural and civil war, more blood has been shed by the impious and abominable tyrants in eight months, than by the Peloponnesians, the public enemies and destroyers of our country and independency, in ten years. Your misfortunes we bewail equally with our own. Nor is there a man left dead in the field of battle, whose death does not excite our sympathy and increase our affliction.” This proclamation was calculated to sow the seeds of disaffection among the troops; and the tyrants immediately led off their forces; while Thrasybulus, without stripping the dead, marched to Piræus.

The day following, the thirty took their melancholy seats in council, but betrayed symptoms of fear, and indications of expected ruin. The unfortunate subjects accused their com-

manders

manders and themselves. A ferment arose in the city, which was not allayed until the tyrants were deposed from their dignity, and ten magistrates (one elected from each tribe) appointed to succeed them. The surviving tyrants, and those whose guilt had closely united them to the thirty, fled to Eleusis.

The ten, or decemvirs, soon showed the same desire to obey the government of Sparta, and tyrannize over the inhabitants of Athens. After various skirmishes, in which the bravery and conduct of Thrasybulus generally prevailed, the tyrants in Eleusis and at Athens sent to request assistance from Sparta and Lysander. The Lacedæmonian commander was extremely desirous to support and protect the government he had established; and therefore marched to Piræus at the head of a powerful body of mercenary troops, while his brother Libys, with a considerable squadron, blocked up the harbour.

The exertions and talents of the Spartan commanders would soon have compelled Thrasybulus and his followers to surrender at discretion, had they been allowed to act without control. But the Spartans themselves were provoked at the haughty behaviour of Lysander, and the rapacious avarice of his sycophants and dependants, and one and all were now weary of their conduct. The kings, magistrates, and ephori, combined to humble the Lacedæmonian general. Lest he should have the honour of conquering Athens a second time, Pausanias, the most popular and beloved of all the Spartan kings, raised a considerable body of forces, consisting of Spartans and their allies of Peloponnesus, and marching through the isthmus of Corinth,

Corinth, fixed his quarters in the neighbourhood of Athens.

The Lacedæmonian armies, encamped at so great a distance from each other, sufficiently showed the want of union between the two leaders, and the separate interests by which they were actuated. Pausanias, from opposition to an envied, odious, and successful rival, was inclined to espouse the cause, and undertake the protection, of Thrasybulus and his adherents; and an incident, that soon after followed, confirmed this inclination, and determined him to endeavour to anticipate and thwart the measures of Lysander, with respect to the democratical faction. Diognotus, a respectable Athenian, brought the children of Niceratus and Eucrates; the former the son, the latter the brother of Nicias, with whom the Spartan king was connected by the hereditary ties of hospitality and friendship. He placed the helpless infants on the knees of Pausanias, and begged him, by the regard he had for the memory of their great and much respected ancestor, to have compassion on their innocence and weakness, and defend them against a base and worthless faction, desirous of destroying whatever was virtuous and valuable.

Before, however, his favourable intentions were known by the enemy, several bloody skirmishes took places. But no sooner was Thrasybulus apprised of the disposition of Pausanias, than he made known in Athens this unexpected revolution; and a numerous party, throwing off the yoke of the tyrants, desired a reconciliation with their countrymen in Piræus. The Spartan king received them kindly, and advised them to send

send deputies to Sparta, to propose overtures of accommodation to the ephori and the senate. Lysander and the tyrants endeavoured to oppose this negotiation, but in vain. The Spartans sent fifteen commissioners, who, in conjunction with Pausanias, were empowered to treat with Athens.

With the approbation of these ministers, the tyrants were divested of their authority, the foreign garrisons withdrawn, and the popular form of government was once more restored to Athens. The mildness with which this revolution was executed does honour to those who occasioned it. The authors and the instruments of the most oppressive usurpation recorded in the annals of any nation were permitted, to retire to Eleusis in safety. This important transaction being finished, Thrasybulus conducted a military procession to the temple of Minerva, and the Athenians paid their devout acknowledgments, and offered sacrifices to the goddess, who had thus restored the exiles to their country, and healed the divisions of the state.

B.C. 403.

The effect of the generous enthusiasm of the Athenians might have encouraged perhaps even the enfeebled party of the tyrants, to return from Eleusis. They were, however, too sensible of the guilt and cruelty of their conduct, to hope for forgiveness or impunity. Having fortified the city in the best manner they could, they began to prepare arms, to collect mercenaries, and to try again the fate of war. But the new republic easily defeated their vain attempts; and the unequal hostility, the effect of despair and fury, soon ceased. The most obnoxious and cruel

cruel leaders sealed with their blood the safety of their adherents, who submitted to the clemency of Thrasybulus. He had the magnanimity to undertake their cause with the people, and solicited and obtained a decree, that these men should be restored to the city, reinstated in their fortunes and privileges, and the memory of their past offences be buried in oblivion. The assembly ratified this general act of amnesty by oath; but when the tyrants were no more, they who had been the abettors of their unjust and nefarious proceedings were accused, convicted, and punished for the perpetration of crimes, the promise of a general indemnity for which had been solemnly sanctioned. So true it is that the Athenians possessed wisdom to discern, but wanted constancy to practise, the lessons of sound policy, or even the dictates of strict justice.

It had been well for humanity, and to the honour of Athens, if the abettors of that aristocratical faction had been the only persons, who experienced the unjust rigour of its tribunals. But soon after the reestablishment of the popular form of government happened a very memorable transaction, the trial and condemnation of Socrates, a man guiltless of any vice, and against whom no blame could be imputed, except that the illustrious merit of the philosopher disgraced the crimes and the follies of his contemporaries. His active, useful, and honourable life was sealed by a death, that appeared

B.C. 400. bestowed as a favour, not inflicted as a curse; since Socrates had passed his seventieth year, and must have yielded in a little time to the decays of nature. Had he, therefore, died a natural death, his fame would have been

been less splendid, and certainly more doubtful in the eyes of posterity.

This great and good man had been represented in the ludicrous farce of Aristophanes, entitled "the Clouds," as a person who denied the religion of his country, corrupted the morals of his disciples, and professed the odious arts of sophistry and chicane. Socrates was of too independent a spirit to court, and too sincere to flatter, a licentious populace. The envy, therefore, of the people gradually envenomed the shafts of the poet; and they really began to suppose, that the pretended philosopher and sage was no better than the petulance of Aristophanes had described his morals and character to be. The calumny was greedily received, and its virulence heightened by priests and seditious demagogues, whose temples and designs he had ridiculed and despised; and by bad poets and vain sophists, whose pretended excellencies the discernment of Socrates had removed, and whose irritable temper the sincerity of the philosopher had greatly offended.

It is astonishing, indeed, that such a powerful combination should have permitted Socrates to live to the age he did; especially when we consider, that during the democratical form of government, he never disguised his sentiments, but treated with contempt and derision the capricious levity, injustice, and cruelty of the multitude; and that, during the usurpation of the tyrants, he openly arraigned their vices, excited the people against them, and defied the authority and vengeance of the thirty. He was not ambitious, and this may be considered as the

the cause of his escaping so long. If public affairs had excited his attention, and he had endeavoured to invest himself with authority, and thereby to withstand the prevalent corruption of the times, it is more than probable, that his formidable opposition would have exposed him to an earlier fate. But, notwithstanding his private station, his disciples considered it as somewhat remarkable, that amidst the litigious turbulence of democracy, and the tyrannical oppressions of the thirty, his superior merit and virtues should have escaped persecution during a life of seventy years.

At the time that his enemies determined to sacrifice this illustrious character, it required no uncommon art, to give to their calumnies an appearance of probability. Socrates discoursed with all descriptions of men, in all places, and on all occasions. The opinions he professed were uniform and consistent, and known to all men. He taught no secret doctrines; admitted no private auditors. His lessons were open to all; and that they were gratuitous, the poverty in which he lived, compared with the exorbitant wealth of the sophists, fully demonstrated. His enemies, however, to surmount all these difficulties, trusted to the hatred which the judges and jury had conceived against him, and the perjury of false witnesses, whose testimony might be procured at Athens for a trifling sum of money. They also confided in the artifices and eloquence of Miletus, Anytus, and Lycon, who appeared for the priests and poets, for the politicians and artists, and for the rhetoricians and sophists. Socrates, according to the laws of

Greece,

Greece, ought, as his cause chiefly respected religion, to have been tried by the tribunal of the Areopagus, a less numerous but more enlightened court of justice. He was, however, immediately carried before the tumultuary assembly, or rather mob of the Heliæa. This was a tribunal consisting of five hundred persons, most of whom were liable, by their education and manner of life, to be seduced by eloquence, intimidated by authority, and corrupted by every species of undue influence.

When Socrates was called on to make his defence, he confessed he had been much affected by the persuasive eloquence of his adversaries; but that in truth, if he might be allowed the expression, they had not spoken one word to the purpose. His friend Chærephon had, he said, consulted the Delphic oracle, whether any man was wiser than Socrates; and received for answer, that he was the wisest of men. That he might justify the reply of the god, whose veracity they all acknowledged, he had conversed with the most eminent and distinguished persons in the republic: he found, that they universally pretended to the knowledge of many things of which they were ignorant; and therefore suspected, that in this circumstance he excelled them, because he pretended to no kind of knowledge, of which he was not really possessed. What he did know he freely communicated, and strove, to the utmost of his power, to render his fellow-citizens more virtuous and more happy. He believed the god had called him to this employment, and "his authority, O Athenians! I respect still more than yours."

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When he had thus spoken, the judges were seized with indignation at the firmness of a man capitally accused, and who, according to the usual custom, they expected, would have brought his wife and children to intercede for him by their tears; or, at least, that he would have made use of a long and elaborate discourse, which his friend Lysias, the orator, had prepared for his defence, and which was alike fitted to detect calumny, and to excite compassion. But Socrates, who always considered it as a much greater evil to commit than to suffer an injustice, declared, that he thought it unbecoming to employ any other defence than that of an innocent and useful life. The gods alone were capable of discerning, whether to incur the penalties, with which he was unjustly charged, ought to be considered as an evil or not.

The firmness and magnanimity, with which the philosopher delivered himself, could not, however, alter the resolution of his judges; but such is the ascendancy of virtue over the most worthless of mankind, that he was found guilty by a majority of three voices only. He was then commanded, according to a principle that betrays the true spirit of democratical tyranny, to pass sentence of condemnation on himself, and to name the punishment which ought to be inflicted on him. "The punishment I ought to receive," replied Socrates, "for having spent an useful and active life in endeavouring to make my fellow-citizens wiser and better, and to inspire the Athenian youth with the love of virtue and temperance, is, that I should be maintained, during the remainder of my life, in the Prytanæum.

neum*. This is an honour due to *me*, rather than to the victors in the Olympic games; since I have always endeavoured to make my countrymen more happy *in reality*, they only *in appearance*." The judges, provoked by an observation which ought to have confounded them, immediately passed sentence, and condemned Socrates to drink the deleterious hemlock cup.

Though this atrocious act of injustice excited the indignation of the philosopher's friends, he himself felt no other passion, than what pity for the prejudices of his countrymen occasioned. Socrates then addressed that part of the audience, which had been favourable to his cause, and said, he considered them as friends, with whom he would willingly converse for a few moments, upon an event that had happened to him previously to his being summoned to death. After the prosecution had commenced, he had observed, that an unusual circumstance had attended all his words and actions, and every step he had taken in the course of his trial. Formerly, and on ordinary occasions, he had been restrained from saying or doing any thing improper or hurtful; but during the whole progress of this affair he had never been withheld, in any one particular, from following the bent of his inclination. He was therefore of opinion, that the fate which the court had awarded him ought not to be considered as an evil, but as what was meant for his real good. He added: "And if death be only a change of existence,

* The Prytanæum was a council hall of the Athenians, in which judicatures were held, sacrifices offered, and the members provided with every necessary at the expense of the public.

 it

it must certainly be advantageous to remove from judges like these, to Minos, Rhadamanthus, and other upright men, who, on account of their love of justice and virtue, have been exalted by the divinity to the exercise of this important function. What delight must it not occasion, to live in continual intercourse with the heroes and poets of antiquity! And since no real evil can happen to those, who are the concern and protection of Heaven, it becomes you, my friends, to be of good comfort with respect to my death. For my own part, I am fully persuaded, that with me to die is gain; and therefore I am not offended at my judges, for condemning me so unjustly. I make it my particular request, that all of you will so behave towards my sons, when they attain the years of reason and manhood, as I have ever treated you. I entreat you will not cease to blame and accuse them, when you see them prefer wealth, or pleasure, or any other frivolous object, to the inestimable worth of virtue. And if they think highly of their own merit, while, at the same time, O Athenians! it is insignificant and of little value, reproach them for it, as I have done you. If you act according to the tenor of these instructions, you will do justice to me and to my sons. And now I go to die, and you to live; but which is preferable the divinity only knows."

It is no wonder, that the disciples of Socrates should have considered the events of his extraordinary life, and more especially the conclusion of it, as regulated and directed by the interposition of Heaven. His unalterable firmness and amiable virtues were evinced and displayed in every circumstance. It happened, that his trial took

took place immediately after the commencement of an annual festival, in which a vessel, decorated by the high priest, was sent to Delos, to commemorate, by grateful acknowledgments to Apollo, the triumphant return of Theseus of Crete, and the happy deliverance of Athens from a disgraceful tribute. During the absence of the vessel, it was not lawful to inflict any capital punishment. The friends of Socrates, in the mean while, visited him in prison. Their conversation chiefly turned on the subjects, that had formerly occupied their attention; and, though they did not afford that pleasure, which they usually derived from the company of the philosopher, they did not occasion that gloom, which is naturally excited by the presence of a friend under the condemnation of death.

Contrary winds protracted the absence of the vessel thirty days; but when the fatal ship arrived in the harbour of Sunium, and was hourly expected at Piræus, Crito, the most confidential of the disciples of Socrates, carried the first intelligence of it to his master; and ventured to propose a clandestine escape, by means of money that he had collected, and which would, he doubted not, corrupt the fidelity of his keepers. This unmanly proposal, excited by the friendship of Crito, Socrates answered in a vein of pleasantry, which showed the perfect composure of his mind: "In what country, my friend, is it possible, to elude the shafts of death? Whither shall I flee, to avoid the irrevocable doom passed on all the human race?" Apollodorus, another of his disciples, remarked, "that what grieved him beyond measure was, that such a man should perish unjustly." "And would you," replied

 Socrates,

Socrates, "be less grieved, were I deserving of death?"

His friends, and especially Crito, urged that he would not be less ungenerous than imprudent, in obeying a cruel and capricious multitude, and thereby rendering his wife a widow, his children orphans, and his disciples for ever miserable and forlorn; and therefore conjured him, by every thing sacred and divine, to save his life. Socrates replied, however unjustly we are treated, it is neither our duty, nor our interest, to retort the injuries of our parents or our country; but to teach, by our example, obedience to the laws. The strength of these arguments, but still more the unalterable firmness of his mind, silenced the struggling emotions of his friends.

When the fatal morning arrived, his disciples hastened earlier than usual to the gate of the prison, but were desired to wait until the executioners had loosed the fetters of Socrates, and announced to him, that he must die before the setting of the sun. When introduced to the philosopher, they found him just relieved from his bonds, and attended by his wife Xantippe, who carried in her arms his infant son. As soon as they appeared, she exclaimed, "Alas! Socrates, here come your friends, who for the last time behold you, and you them." Socrates desired Crito to conduct her home.

The philosopher, now reclining on his couch, began a discourse on the connection between pain and pleasure. He drew his leg towards him, and gently rubbing it, remarked, that the one sensation was generally followed by that of the other. For, though he had felt pain, during

ing the time his leg was galled by the iron, yet now a pleasing sensation followed. Neither pleasure, nor pain, he observed, can exist apart; they are seldom pure and unmixed; and whoever experiences the one, may be sure he will soon feel the other. "Had Æsop," said he, "made this reflection, I think he would have remarked, that the divinity, desirous of reconciling these opposite natures, but finding the design impracticable, had, at least, united their extremes. For this reason, pleasure has ever been followed by pain, and pain by pleasure."

He discussed with his disciples several important and interesting subjects; particularly concerning suicide, and the immortality of the soul. These discussions consumed the greater part of the day. The arguments of the philosopher convinced and consoled his disciples, as they have frequently done the virtuous and the learned in succeeding ages. On the subject of death he said, "They, whose minds are adorned with temperance, justice, and fortitude, and who have despised the vain ornaments and vain pleasures of the body, ought not to regret their separation from their terrestrial companion. And now," continued he, speaking in tragical language, "the destined hour summons me to death."

Soon after, the keeper of the prison entered, and addressing himself to Socrates, said, "I cannot accuse you of the rage and execrations too often vented against me by those, to whom it is my duty to announce, by command of the magistrates, that the hour for drinking the poison is arrived. Your fortitude, mildness, and generosity, exceed all that I have ever hitherto been witness of. I am sensible, that you will pardon even

even this action of mine; since you know that it is occasioned by compulsory orders. And now, as you are acquainted with the purport of my message, I bid you farewell, and exhort you to bear your hard fate with as much patience as possible." Socrates also bade him farewell; and gave orders, that the poison should be brought.

Crito then made a sign to the boy that waited; who went and prepared the hemlock, and returned with the person who was to administer it. When Socrates perceived his arrival, he said to him, "Tell me, for you are experienced in such matters, what I have to do." "Nothing farther," replied he, "than to walk in your chamber, until your limbs feel heavy, and then sit down on the couch." The philosopher then took the cup, and asked, whether it were lawful to employ any part of the beverage in libation. The other answered, there was not a quantity more than sufficient. Socrates then drank the poison, with an unaltered countenance. His friends and disciples made great lamentations, but the philosopher, in order to still their noisy grief, said, with a mixture of gentleness and authority, "that he had before dismissed the women, lest there should be any unmanly complaints." When he found the poison began to work in his vitals, he uncovered his face, and said, "Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius: sacrifice it, and neglect it not;" intimating thereby, that this offering should be made to the god, as if he had recovered from his disease. Crito asked him, if he had any farther commands; but he made no reply. Soon after he was in an agony; and Crito shut his eyes. Thus died Socrates; a man, whom his disciples declared they could

never

never cease to remember, and whom remembering, they could not cease to admire. "That man," says Xenophon, "who is a lover of virtue, and has found a more profitable companion than Socrates, I consider as the happiest of human kind."

The current of popular passions was frequently uniform in the Athenian republic, till the period of a reflux arrived. The factitious resentment excited against Socrates by such absurd and improbable calumnies, as could scarcely be believed, even by those who were most ready to receive and propagate them, extended itself to his numerous friends and adherents with great rapidity. Fortunately, however, for letters and humanity, the rage of faction was confined within the Attic border. Many of his disciples wisely eluded a storm, which they were unable to resist. Some took refuge in Thebes; whilst others fled to Megara.

It was not until after the death of Socrates, that the people became conscious of their error, in destroying that great and good man. It was then, that mingled sentiments of pity, shame, and remorse, gave a new direction to the fury of the people. The accusers and the judges of Socrates were used with much more cruelty than the philosopher himself. This, however, was more justly inflicted on them, than on him. Nothing was heard throughout the city, but discourses in favour of Socrates. The Academy, the Lyceum, private houses, public walks, and market-places, all seemed to the sorrowful Athenians still to reecho the sound of his beloved voice. "Here," said they, "he formed our youth, and taught our children to love their country, and

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be obedient to their parents. In this place he gave us lessons, and when he saw us lax in our moral duties, he applied seasonable reproaches, that he might engage us more earnestly in the pursuit of virtue. And now, alas! how have we rewarded this good and worthy man for these important services! The whole city was in mourning and consternation: the schools were shut up, and all exercises suspended. Many of his accusers and judges were driven into exile; numbers were put to death; and several perished in despair by their own hands. For, as Plutarch observes, all those, who had any share in this black and improbable calumny, were held in such abomination by their countrymen, that no one would give them fire, answer a question, or go into the same bath with them.

The illustrious sage had a statue of brass erected to him, by the Athenians, of the workmanship of Lysippus, which was placed in the most conspicuous part of the city. Thus did his fame, like the hardy oak, derive vigour from length of years, and increase from age to age, until the superstitious Athenians worshipped him as a god, whom their injustice and cruelty had condemned as a criminal.

The persecution, condemnation, and death of Socrates, together with the honours afterward decreed him, conspired to animate the affection, and to increase the zeal of his disciples and adherents. During his life their number had been great; but after his death, it became greater; since the persons that followed, and those that rejected his doctrines, indiscriminately styled themselves Socratic philosophers. By these means, his name was adopted and profaned by many

many sects, whose tenets were widely different and adverse, and who universally changed, exaggerated, or perverted the principles of their common master.

We have hitherto had occasion to notice with peculiar attention the successes and the defeats of the Athenian republic: and while the Athenians acted the most conspicuous part in the affairs of the nation, it was necessary to give that attention to them, which the importance of their concerns naturally demanded; but we must now turn successively to those states, which after the downfal of the Athenian greatness became the principal communities of Greece.

While the fortune of the Peloponnesian war was doubtful, the peaceful inhabitants of Elis frequently testified their inclination to preserve a strict and inoffensive neutrality, that they might give their attention to their own private concerns. But the continual solicitations of Sparta, and the unprovoked violence of Athens, determined them to declare for the former city. They, however, acted with great indifference and lukewarmness in the cause of their Spartan allies. During the time of action, their efforts were languid and ineffectual; and when, according to custom, the annual return of the olympic games suspended for a time all hostilities between the contending states, they showed little regard or respect for their powerful confederates, whose martial and ambitious spirit seemed incompatible with the enjoyment of their own contemplative tranquillity.

This omission of duty was soon followed by the actual desertion of the Eleans from the alliance of Sparta. They defended themselves against

against the usurpations of that state, and endeavoured to prevent its members from consulting the Delphic oracle, and from partaking of the games and sacrifices performed at Olympia. While the Peloponnesian war was carried on, these injuries were submitted to with impunity; but no sooner was that so successfully terminated, than the Spartans felt with sensibility, and were enabled to chastise with severity, every insult that had been offered them, during the less prosperous state of their affairs.

Agis, the most warlike of the Spartan princes, now levied a powerful army, that he might inflict a late but terrible vengeance on the Eleans. It was his design to take them unawares, and before they could raise forces to oppose him. He therefore led the troops through the countries of Argolis and Achaia, and entering the territory of Elis by the road of Larissa, intended to march by the shortest way to the devoted capital. He had scarcely, however, passed the river Larissus, which gives name to the town, and divides the provinces of Elis and Achaia, when some severe and repeated shocks of an earthquake were experienced. The superstitious invaders considered this as an admonition from the gods, that the state they were about to attack was under the protection of Heaven; and that, therefore, they ought to abstain from ravaging a country so sacredly defended. Into such a menace, at least, was this terrible phenomenon interpreted by the Lacedæmonian king, that he immediately recrossed the river with his troops, and returning home, disbanded his army.

By this event, however, the enmity of the Spartans was only restrained, not extinguished. They offered

offered up prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and besought them to sanctify and favour the invasion of the Elean territory. The ephori then commanded Agis to levy more forces, and to march into the country of Elis. No phenomenon occurred to check their progress. During two successive summers and autumns the territory was desolated: they burned or otherwise destroyed all the villages; and the inhabitants were made captives: all the ornaments of their sacred edifices were destroyed; and the city of Jupiter was despoiled of many of the porticoes, gymnasia, and temples, that adorned it.

But though the Spartans had first planned the invasion, they did not either alone incur the guilt, or exclusively obtain the profits that attended it. The Arcadians and other Peloponnesians, allured by the hope of plunder, joined the Spartan forces, and the Elean territory afforded them a rich and luxurious harvest of spoil; for that country had been long protected by religion against the ravages of war. When the Spartans had thus plundered and laid waste the country of Elis, they granted peace to the inhabitants, on condition that they would surrender their fleet, acknowledge the independence of the inferior towns and villages, that were scattered along the banks of the Pereus and the Alpheus, and model their internal government according to the plan prescribed by the conquerors. Thus was Sparta become the arbitrator of Greece.

But though the conquest of Elis engaged, it did not engross the attention of the Spartans exclusively of other objects; or divert them from pursuing other projects of revenge. The Mes-

senians were not the accidental and temporary neighbours of Sparta, but they had been the natural and inveterate foes of that community; nor could they expect but to feel the unhappy consequences of the triumph of Lacedæmon.

After the destruction of Messene and the persecution of its inhabitants, Naupactus, situated on the northern shore of the Corinthian gulf, afforded a safe and secure retreat to a feeble remnant of that community. They flourished here under the protection of Athens; and, in gratitude to their benefactors, were the most active, zealous, and, according to the utmost of their power, the most useful of any of the allies of Athens, during the whole of the Peloponnesian war. But their assistance and that of many others proved ineffectual, and the time was now come, when Sparta prepared to inflict a severe punishment upon them, for their recent as well as ancient injuries. Naupactus and Cephalenia (where a considerable colony of the Messenians had been planted) were invaded: the greater part of the inhabitants escaped to Sicily: upwards of three thousand sailed to Syrenaica. These were the only countries inhabited by the Hellenic race, that were now beyond the reach of the Lacedæmonian power.

B. C. 401.

Whilst the operations of war, and the various revolutions that took place in the governments of Greece detached the Grecian colonies in Italy, Sicily, and Cyrenaica, from the general interests and politics of the mother country, a series of events, not less curious than important, connected in the closest manner the history of Greece with the annals of the Persian empire.

Darius

Darius Nothus terminated his active and prosperous reign the same memorable year that Athens became subject to Sparta, and the Peloponnesian war was brought to a conclusion. His wife Parysatis, an artful and ambitious woman, employed all her influence over an old and uxorious husband, to obtain the kingdom for Cyrus, her younger son and peculiar favourite; but the dying monarch persisted in appointing Artaxerxes his successor to the throne.

The rivalship of the two brothers, who were both at court during the last illness of Darius, unhappily degenerated into enmity. The birth of Artaxerxes had happened before the accession of his father to the throne; while, on the contrary, Cyrus was born the son of a king. This circumstance greatly increased the indignation of the younger brother. The same distinction had occasioned Darius Hystaspes, to prefer Xerxes the younger of his sons to his elder brother Artabazanes. The precedent thus established by such an illustrious monarch might have been thought sufficient, to reinforce the partial arguments of Parysatis; and the merit and abilities that Cyrus discovered at a very early age, and which would have enabled him to fill the most difficult, and to adorn the most exalted station, might have contributed to confirm his title to the throne. When only seventeen, the provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, had been deputed to his care and jurisdiction. The same mandate of Darius, however, that destroyed his hopes of obtaining the throne of Persia, appointed him hereditary and perpetual governor of the above-mentioned districts. When Darius

was

was dead, Cyrus, with the three hundred heavy-armed Greeks, under the command of Xenias, an Arcadian, who had accompanied him to Suza, prepared to leave the Persian court, and to return to the government of his provinces; but when he was about to leave that city, his departure was retarded by a base and nefarious intention. Tissaphernes, to whose jurisdiction Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, had been committed previous to the time in which Cyrus became governor of those valuable districts, was now at the Persian court, and hoping to share the spoils of the young prince, accused him of treason. Artaxerxes gave orders, that Cyrus should be apprehended; but the powerful protection of his mother, who, though she loved only one, was beloved, or at least feared, by both her sons, defended his life, vindicated his honour, and restored him in safety to his dominions in Asia minor.

Cyrus, whose heroic fortitude was known, could not be much affected with the danger that had threatened his person; but the insult and affront offered him by his brother sunk deep into his heart. From the moment he recovered his liberty, he determined to revenge the injury done him, and by force of arms to obtain possession of the Persian throne, or to perish in the attempt. In the eastern countries, where despotism and arbitrary power have existed in all their authority from the earliest periods of history, there is no immediate gradation between the prince and the people. The subject that is discontented with the conduct of his monarch, has scarcely any other alternative but to submit. If he be galled by servitude, he must at least stifle his

his animosity, be content to suffer death, or aspire to the supremacy.

The young prince, of a magnanimous disposition, naturally preferred the road of danger and glory for asserting and vindicating his independence; nor did he think it sufficient, to punish the injustice of Artaxerxes towards him. He made such preparations as might enable him to dethrone his brother, and to usurp the dominion of Persia, defended as it was by a million of armed men, and protected not only by the power of superstition, but by the splendour of ancient renown. This design of Cyrus, extravagant and romantic as it appeared at first view, seemed, nevertheless, when fully considered, capable of being executed. The young prince possessed great and extraordinary resources in the fertility and invention of his own mind; his barbarian subjects were united to him in the most friendly and affectionate attachment to his person; and, above all, the fidelity and valour of his Lacedæmonian allies gave him the most powerful means for invading and usurping the Persian empire.

When we consider the life and the actions of Cyrus, either as they are delivered to us by the concurring testimony of his contemporaries, or as we observe them in the lustre they reflect, it seems evident that he was born for the honour of human nature, and particularly for that of Asia. He had been educated, we are told, from the age of seven years, "to shoot with the bow, to manage the horse, and to speak truth." This was agreeable to the institutions of the great founder of the Persian monarchy, and seemed well adapted, in an age of simplicity, to form the princes and nobles of the state. Cyrus equalled and surpassed

passed his companions in all exterior accomplishments; but while his manly beauty, his bodily activity, and his skill and courage in managing the steed, in hunting, and in every military exercise, were the admiration of the people, the young prince appears to have estimated such superficial advantages according to their real worth alone. Integrity of heart was considered by him as the only solid basis of a fair character: honesty was impressed on every action; his promise was sacred, and his friendship sincere and inviolable. During the thoughtless and giddy season of youth, the admonitions of age and experience were not neglected; opulence, birth, and rank, had for him no allurements; age and virtue were the only objects of his respect; and his conduct, equally deserving and singular, was justly and universally admired and applauded.

By the most important services, he had deserved the gratitude and the esteem of the Lacedæmonian republic. Sparta, merely by his assistance, had been raised to the sovereignty of Greece, and to the command of the sea. In return for the favours received from the Persian prince, the Spartans readily granted his request, and sent into Asia a body of eight hundred heavy-armed men, under the command of the intrepid and warlike Cheirisophus. Samius also, the Spartan admiral, who had succeeded Lysander in the command of the fleet on the Ionian coast, received orders from his government, faithfully to cooperate with Cyrus, and to employ his powerful armament in whatever service the Persian prince should think proper to recommend.

This

This behaviour of the Spartans, had they done nothing besides, might have been well approved by Cyrus, and considered as a grateful return for the favours they had received; especially, as by their alliance his possessions on the side of Europe were perfectly secured, and he was enabled, without fear of danger, to withdraw the garrisons from the western parts of his dominion, and thereby to augment the strength of his army. But the zeal and attachment of the Spartans carried them still farther: he was permitted to raise forces in any part of their dominions; and the generous munificence of Cyrus had obtained numerous partisans, properly qualified to collect and to command those valuable levies. Of the Grecians devoted to the interest and glory of the Persian prince, were Clearchus the Spartan, Menon the Thessalian, Proxenus the Bœotian, Agias the Arcadian, and Socrates the Achæan. These generals soon raised from their respective republics more than ten thousand heavy-armed men, and near three thousand archers and targeteers.

The haughty indolence of the Persians was lulled into security, and deceived by the silence and celerity with which Cyrus made his preparations. Alcibiades, however, who then resided at Grynium, in Phrygia, under the protection of Pharnabazus, was apprised of the designs of Cyrus. Moved by resentment to Sparta, or ambitious of obtaining the favour of Artaxerxes, he requested the satrap to allow him an escort, that he might undertake a journey to Suza, and acquaint the Persian monarch with the vast preparations and hostile intentions of his brother. But Pharnabazus, though he possessed not the

merit,

merit, desired the reward of the discovery. Instead, therefore, of complying with the request of the unfortunate Alcibiades, he gratified the selfishness and cruelty of the Lacedæmonian government, as we before had occasion to observe, by the destruction of the Athenian exile.

Nothing, however, could rouse the Persian monarch from the profound security of his repose. Cyrus completed his levies without molestation, and almost without suspicion; and he prepared to march from the Ionian coast into Upper Asia, with an army of one hundred thousand barbarians, and more than thirteen thousand Greeks. His forces having assembled at Sardis, the Persian prince was carried, by the activity of his resentment or ambition, with the utmost celerity towards Upper Asia. In a journey of twelve hundred miles, his forces encountered fewer difficulties than might have been expected. They travelled through the central provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, Cappadocia; they traversed the mountains of Cilicia; and passed, without meeting resistance, through Syria; they then crossed the Euphrates, at Thapsacus; and, after penetrating the desert, entered the territory of Babylon.

B. C. 400.

The viceroys of Lycaonia and Cilicia, though no ways anxious to defend the throne of Artaxerxes, were, nevertheless, solicitous to protect their own respective provinces. The former having attempted, without strength or courage, to resist the invading army, experienced the severity of the enemy, who plundered and desolated the district over which he presided. Syennesis, governor of Cilicia, fearing the same fate, endeavoured to avail himself of the natural strength

strength of his province, the southern boundaries of which are washed by the sea, and which is defended on other sides by the winding branches of mount Taurus. Syennesis had placed his troops in a narrow pass, called the gates of Cilicia, sufficient only to admit one chariot at a time, and which, had he continued to occupy the post, might have easily prevented the passage of an army. But the timid Cilician did not trust to arms alone for the defence of his country: he sent his beautiful queen Epyaxa to meet Cyrus on the frontiers of Phrygia, who presented the young prince, and her acknowledged liege-lord and superior, with gold, silver, and other costly gifts; but the greatest and most valuable of her presents were her youth and beauty, which, it is said, she submitted to Cyrus. The Persian prince, after entertaining her with magnificence and distinction, restored her to Cilicia by a nearer road.

Cyrus added a considerable body of Greeks to the escort which accompanied this lady. The greater part of these troops arrived at Tarsus before the rest of the army reached the gates of Cilicia. Having plundered this large and opulent city, they took up their residence there for some time. During their abode in Tarsus, the Greeks became corrupted and enervated with luxury and prosperity: they disdained to obey their commanders, nor would they continue their journey. Clearchus and the Spartan senate were well acquainted with the views of Cyrus; but the design of marching to Babylon was carefully concealed from the soldiers, lest their impatience, or their fears, might be alarmed by the prospect of such a long and dangerous undertaking.

undertaking. But at Tarsus they discovered the suspicions of the deceit, and loud and licentious clamours ensued: the majesty of Cyrus was insulted: they reproached the treachery of their generals; and their resentment was about to vent itself in open sedition, when Clearchus by his address appeased the ferment of the soldiers.

He secretly communicated to Cyrus what part he was about to act, and his endeavours to make the affair take a favourable turn. He then openly embraced the cause of the soldiers, pretended that he was greatly affected with their grievances, and eagerly concurred in every measure that seemed proper to remove them. By his eloquence and address, he diverted the design of immediate hostility. An assembly was convened for deliberating on the most likely and prudent measures to be pursued, in the present posture of affairs: many gave their own opinion; but others spoke according to the directions of Clearchus. One of the counsellors, whose speech was heard with applause, advised to pack up their baggage, and to demand guides or ships from Cyrus, to facilitate their return. Another rose to observe the folly of this request from a man, whose measures they had endeavoured to thwart, and whose purposes they had attempted to defeat. They would not surely trust in those guides, that the enemy should give them; nor could it be expected, that Cyrus would furnish them with ships, which were so necessary for the success of his expedition. It was, therefore, at length unanimously resolved, that commissioners should be appointed to treat with Cyrus, that he might either, by granting the demands

demands of the Greeks, prevail on them to accompany him, or that the Persian prince would permit them to return home. Cyrus, however, promised each of the Greeks a darick and a half, instead of a darick, of monthly pay, and by these means all differences were adjusted.

This storm being appeased, they marched through Cilicia, passed the Euphrates, and, advancing through the desert into the plains of Babylon, met, near Cynaxa, the numerous and formidable army of Artaxerxes. Clearchus posted the Greeks near the river Euphrates, lest they should be surrounded by the enemy. Cyrus desired him to advance opposite to the king's guard, because if they should be broken, the enemy would immediately give way on all sides. The Spartan general replied, that he considered it necessary to remain in his present situation, and that he would be careful to do every thing in his power to make matters go well.

This disobedience of Clearchus, and the impetuosity of Cyrus, however, destroyed the fortune of the day, in which the fate of Persia and the renown of Greece were alike involved. Clearchus, by skilful evolutions, eluded the armed chariots and cavalry of the enemy; and the martial appearance and acclamations of the Greeks routed the opposing crowd, who could not withstand or endure the sight of their regular army, and burnished arms. The martial sounds of their harmonious pæans, intermixed with the clanging of their spears against their brazen bucklers, astonished and terrified the enemy. Artaxerxes, seeing that the Greeks were every where victorious, and that none of his soldiers could oppose them in front, gave orders to his men to wheel about,

about, and advancing with celerity take the enemy in the rear. Had this design been carried into execution, the Greeks, in all probability, having prevailed in the first onset, would immediately have faced about, and, animated by the joy of victory and their native ardour, have returned to charge those that attacked them in the rear, and gained an easy conquest.

But Cyrus, impatient of victory, defeated this favourable prospect. Observing the movement of his brother, he eagerly rode to meet him, accompanied only by six hundred horse. He attacked the enemy with such violence and impetuosity, that the king's advanced guards were immediately thrown into confusion, and Artagerses, their commander, was slain bythe hand of Cyrus. Had he retreated even now, he might still perhaps have saved his life, and obtained the kingdom. But perceiving Artaxerxes in the midst of the ranks, he rushed forward with a blind instinctive fury, and cried out, "I see the man." He penetrated the thick globe of the attendants of his brother, and threw his javelin at the breast of the king. His zeal and eagerness to destroy Artaxerxes, provedthe ruin of himself: he received a severe wound in the face from an unknown hand, which only served to increase his fury. He fell, however, soon after in the tumultuary contest of his attendants with the guards of the king; eight of his most confidential friends were slain in the assault, and thus sealed with their blood the affection and fidelity they entertained for a beloved master.

In the mean while Clearchus, at the head of the Grecian phalanx, pursuing the fugitives, was carried to a considerable distance from Artax-

erxes.

erxes; when, however, he was given to understand, that the barbarians had possessed themselves of his camp, and perceived that, tired and laden with plunder, they were advancing to attack his rear, he faced about in order to receive them. The enemy's cavalry made various dispositions until sunset for receiving the attack of the Greeks; but neither the generals, nor the forces they commanded, durst approach within the reach of the Grecian spears. Wherever Clearchus and his brave troops advanced, they fled with the greatest precipitation and disorder. Wearied with marching against an enemy that seemed unwilling and unable to fight, they determined, at length, to return to their camp: and wondered that neither Cyrus nor any of his messengers appeared.

When they arrived at the place of their encampment, in the beginning of the night, they found their tents in disorder, their baggage plundered, and their provision destroyed or spent. Cyrus had provided four hundred carriages of wine and flour, as a resource in time of need; and the loss of these was chiefly regretted by the Greeks. The troops of Artaxerxes had rifled the carriages; and the Greeks, whom the sudden appearance of the enemy had not allowed to dine, were under the necessity also of passing the night without supper. They were likewise extremely exhausted by the exertions and fatigue of a laborious day, and perplexed in their minds by their uncertainy of the fate of their allies.

At the approach of day, they prepared to move their camp, and received intelligence by certain messengers of the death of Cyrus. They were also acquainted by them, that Ariæus, the

new commander of the Persian troops belonging to Asia minor, had assembled his forces in their former encampment, where he purposed to continue during that day, in order that the Greeks might have time to join him; but if they delayed, he intended to march the next morning towards Ionia. As soon as the consternation of the Greeks was somewhat subsided, "Would to Heaven," said Clearchus, "that Cyrus were alive! but, since he is not, let Ariæus know, that we have conquered the troops of Art[illegible] and that as there is no enemy to resist our arms, if he will come hither we will place him on the Persian throne."

The next morning, however, heralds arrived from Artaxerxes, amongst whom was Philinus, a fugitive Greek, and esteemed by Tissaphernes. This man, speaking for his colleagues, commanded them, in the king's name, to lay do[illegible] their arms, and to beg the monarch's pardon at the gate of his pavilion. This demand was heard with universal indignation. One desired him to tell the king to come and take them; whilst another observed, that it was better to die than to deliver up their arms. Xenophon spoke to the following effect: "You see, O Philinus, that we have nothing left, but our arms and our valour. Whilst we possess the one, we can avail ourselves of the other. But should we be induced to deliver up our arms, we shall be obliged to surrender our persons. Think not, therefore, that we will throw away the only advantages we enjoy. On the contrary, be assured, that relying on our weapons, and our valour, we will dispute with you the advantages which you possess." These sentiments of Xenophon were

were enforced by Clearchus and the rest of the army; and Philinus, unable to discover the immediate designs of the Greeks, returned with his colleagues to the Persian camp.

In the mean time, Ariæus sent deputies to inform the Greeks, that there were many Persians of greater consideration than himself, who would not permit him to be their king. He desired they would join him with all expedition; and observed, that, if they delayed, he would return with [illegible] haste to Ionia. The army, therefore, immediately marched, in order of battle, to the encampment of Ariæus. A mutual alliance, was entered into between the Persian and Grecian commanders, by which they bound themselves to perform to each other the duties of faithful and affectionate confederates. This treaty being ratified by a solemn sacrifice, they deliberated on the plan of their intended journey; and it was at length determined, that instead of traversing the desolated country, through which they had passed, their course should be directed northwards, where they might hope to avoid the desert, acquire provision in plenty, and cross the great rivers, which diminish near their source, with less difficulty and danger. It was also resolved, to perform their first marches with as much expedition as possible, that they might get out of the reach of the king's troops.

It is evident, that the plan proposed had the appearance of a flight; but fortune directed them more gloriously. The Grecian firmness and courage had a powerful effect on the counsels of Artaxerxes, who sent heralds the day following to treat with them about a truce. Tissaphernes, in the name of the king, concluded

that agreement with the Greeks, which proved so calamitous but honourable to them, in the consequences that ensued. The satrap engaged, on the part of his master, to furnish them with provision, to procure them friendly treatment in the countries through which they passed, and to conduct them faithfully into Greece. On the other hand, the Greeks covenanted, that they would abstain from ravaging the territories of Artaxerxes, and that they would pay for any supplies that were granted them.

Tissaphernes, however, though he had promised to hasten his return from the king, delayed twenty days. During this time, the Persians availed themselves of the opportunity of practising with Ariæus. That barbarian, by the allurements of rewards, or the dread of punishment, but still more, perhaps, by the warm solicitation of his relations and friends, was finally detached from the interest of his Grecian allies. Previous to the arrival of Tissaphernes, the Greeks greatly suspected the designs of Ariæus; but no sooner did the satrap return, than the two Persian armies encamped together. For some time, however, no open hostility was committed, and the Greeks, according to treaty, were furnished with a market. But Tissaphernes endeavoured to increase the difficulties of their journey, and led them, by many windings and turnings, through the canals and marshes between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

Having arrived on the banks of the river Zabatus, which flows eastward from the mountains of Media, the Grecian generals, and particularly Clearchus, who had long seen and lamented the unfortunate jealousies, that had arisen between the

the Greeks and Persians, proposed a conference of the commanders, that they might explain and remove the obstacles of agreement. This measure was agreeable to all, and, therefore, was immediately acceded to. Five generals, and twenty captains of the Greeks, accordingly, repaired to the camp of Tissaphernes: only two hundred soldiers followed them, under pretence of going to market. The Grecian generals, Clearchus, Menon, Agias, Proxenus, and Socrates, were conducted into the apartment of the satrap. This separation occasioned distrust; which was heightened by observing, that the barbarians were provided with arms. Soon after, upon a signal being given, those without the camp were cut to pieces, and the generals apprehended.

When the Greeks, in their encampment, had received intelligence of the treacherous conduct of the Persians, they ran to their arms, and expected an immediate assault. The cowardly barbarians, however, instead of attempting to accomplish their designs by open and honourable war, continued to employ artifice and perfidy.

They sent Ariæus, Arteazus, and Mithridates, persons of great credit with Cyrus, to the Grecian camp; and with them three hundred Persians clad in complete armour. When they drew near to the Greeks, a herald proclaimed, that if any of their generals or captains were present, they should advance, and be made acquainted with the pleasure of Artaxerxes. Cheirisophus the Spartan, who, next to Clearchus, had hitherto commanded the army, was absent with a party of foreigners. But Cleanor, the Orchomenian, and Sophonetus the Stymphalian,

lian, the only remaining generals, cautiously proceeded from the camp, accompanied by Xenophon the Athenian, a volunteer in the army, who was desirous of hearing tidings of his friend Proxenus.

When they arrived within hearing of the barbarians, Ariæus said, "Clearchus, O Grecians, having been found guilty of perfidy and treason, has been punished with death. Menon and Proxenus, who discovered his designs, are honoured and rewarded. The king de[illegible] your arms, which are now his property, since they belonged to Cyrus, who was his vassal." To this Cleanor replied, in the name of the rest, and reproached him with perfidy, for having betrayed the friends and benefactors of Cyrus his master; and for cooperating with the enemy of that prince, the treacherous and impious Tissaphernes. Ariæus attempted to defend h[illegible] from this accusation, by alleging the criminal conduct of Clearchus: upon which Xenophon observed, "If Clearchus were guilty of perjury, he has suffered justly. But where are Proxenus and Menon, who are your benefactors, and our commanders? Since they are friends to both parties, let them be sent, to advise us what is best to be done." To this request, so reasonable and just as it appeared, the barbarians could make no answer; and having conferred a while together, they departed to their camp. Their mean duplicity in this interview sufficiently indicated the unhappy fate of the Grecian commanders, who were kept for some time in close confinement, and afterward sent to Artaxerxes, by whom they were commanded to be put to death.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Affairs of Greece, from the Commencement of the memorable Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks under Xenophon, to the Peace of Antalcidas.

THE terror and alarm, which had hitherto prevailed in the Grecian camp, were now converted into consternation and despair. The afflictions of the Greeks seemed completed, by the dreadful catastrophe that had befallen their unfortunate commanders. They were twelve hundred miles distant from their native land; without friends, and without allies; hemmed in by rivers and mountains, which now appeared as so many insurmountable barriers; and threatened by famine, and the resentment of a treacherous and perfidious enemy. They reflected, that it was dangerous to depart, but still more dangerous to remain. Provision could only be procured by the point of the sword. Every country would be hostile to them, and when they had conquered one enemy, another would be ready to receive them. They had no cavalry to pursue the barbarians in their flight, or to elude their pursuit: victory itself would be almost fruitless; but defeat would be certain ruin.

These considerations, together with the fancied inspiration of a dream, impelled Xenophon to undertake, amidst the general dejection and dismay, the care of his own and of the public safety. An assembly of the captains being convened, he represented to them faithfully the present situation of their affairs, but exhorted them,

them, at the same time, not to suffer themselves to fall into despair. In every circumstance fortitude will afford relief. The barbarians had deceived but not conquered them. Their treacherous behaviour had made them odious and detestable to Heaven and to men. The gods, he said, were the umpires of the contest, and would not fail, by their assistance and protection, to make the cause of justice and valour prevail over the mere superiority of strength and numbers.

Xenophon having communicated these sentiments to his hearers, the principal officers of the army were next assembled, to whom he addressed a similar discourse. Every argument that religion, philosophy, and experience, could suggest, were urged by him, to encourage them to expect success from their own bravery and the favour of Heaven, and to disdain any offers of accommodation from men, whose perfidious friendship had been more hurtful than their open enmity. They all applauded the sentiments of the Athenian; and Cheirisophus, the Spartan general, exhorted them, without loss of time, to elect commanders in the room of those whom they had lost. Timasion, Xanthicles, Cleanor, Philysias, succeeded the late generals, and Xenophon supplied the place of Proxenus. They determined to disencumber themselves of all unnecessary baggage, which might impede their march, and to explore the sources of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Their army was intended to be formed into the shape of a hollow square, and thus to oppose the valour of their battalions on every side, to the enemy.

The Greeks consumed the greater part of the

day

day in preparations for their departure; and, in the afternoon, having crossed the Zabatus, the troops pursued their journey, in the disposition already mentioned. They had not, however, proceeded far, when the Persian archers and slingers began to harass the rear of the army. To repel these light skirmishers was no very easy matter, but to attack them, without suffering in the assault considerable loss, was a thing impossible. They could not be overtaken by the heavy-armed soldiers, or even by the targeteers in a little time; and the enemy could not be pursued, without part of the army being cut off. Xenophon, however, made an attempt, but many of his men were wounded, and he brought his troops back to the camp disheartened and disgraced.

The Greeks now found the want of cavalry and of light-armed soldiers. They therefore equipped fifty of their baggage horses; and two hundred Rhodians were drawn from the ranks, who furnished themselves with slings and leaden balls, which they threw twice as far as the stones employed by the barbarians. Of these men, fifty were mounted, and provided with buff coats and corslets; and Lycius, an Athenian, was appointed to command them. The utility of these preparations was soon visible, when the enemy renewed the assault, with a thousand horse, and four thousand slingers. The Persian detachment had no sooner approached within the reach of darts, than the horsemen of Lycius fell furiously on them, and they fled in scattered disorder. The Greeks pursuing, took many prisoners, and in order to create the greater horror, in the minds of these cowardly and perfidious enemies,

enemies, the bodies of the slain were terribly mangled.

After these advantages, they continued their march along the banks of the Tigris and the western boundaries of Media, where they met with many rich and populous villages, that supplied them with plenty of provision; and they soon approached the mountains of the Carduchians, where the cavalry of the enemy could no longer annoy them. The Tigris, on their left was so deep and rapid, that the passage appeared absolutely insurmountable; and nevertheless, it was thought necessary to pass the river. Whilst the Greeks were in suspense what course to pursue, a certain Rhodian undertook to deliver them out of their perplexity, on condition that they would give him a talent, as a reward for his trouble. Being asked what materials he should want for his purpose, he told them they must get two thousand leathern bags, which might be procured by flaying the sheep, goats, oxen, and asses, which the country afforded in great numbers. The skins must be blown, fastened at the ends, and tied together by the girths belonging to the sumpter horses, then covered with fascines, and lastly with earth. "I shall make use," said he, "of stones instead of anchors. Every bag will bear two men, who will be prevented from slipping by means of the fascines and earth, and they will be wafted across the river by the rapidity of the current, with very little labour to themselves."

This ingenious contrivance was highly approved, but not carried into execution; as the Greeks received intelligence, that the road through the country of the Carduchians would conduct

conduct them to the spacious and plentiful provinces of Armenia. Thither, therefore, they marched, regardless of the report that a hundred thousand Persians had been defeated, and cut to pieces, by those fierce barbarians. When the Greeks approached, the Carduchians betook themselves to their fastnesses, and left the houses and villages in the plain to the mercy of the invaders. The troops did no injury, but they could not procure, by their inoffensive behaviour or invitations of peace, the friendship of those men, who were the common enemies of the Greeks, of the Persians, and of the whole human race. Every opportunity was taken to impede the march of the army. They were not prepared for a close engagement, but they excelled all other nations in the use and strength of their bows, which were three cubits long, and which they bent by pressing the lower part with the foot. The arrows were nearly as long as the bows, and their points were so sharp, that they would pierce the firmest shields and corslets. Their superior knowledge in tactics, and their valour, were fully employed by the Greeks, in repelling or eluding the attacks of these dangerous enemies, who did more hurt to the Greeks in seven days, than the Persians did in as many weeks.

At length, however, they arrived at the river Cantrites, which forms the boundary of Armenia; and during the month of January, the Greeks traversed the fruitful plains of that country. Teribazus, the Persian governor of the province, entered into a treaty with the generals, to supply them with provision, provided they abstained from hostilities; but he having treacherously

treacherously broken the treaty, the Greeks had immediate recourse to arms, pursued the perfidious governor, and plundered his camp. The day following, a more dangerous occurrence befel them. Being obliged to encamp in the open air, without fire and victuals, the snow fell in such quantities during the night, that the men with their arms were completely covered. Some lost their sight by the glare of the snow and others were so benumbed with the piercing coldness of the north wind, that they were deprived of the use of their hands and feet. Xenophon could scarcely keep the men in motion, who, laying themselves down, protested they would go no farther, but die there. They endeavoured to defend their eyes from the effect of the snow, by wearing something of a darkish hue before them; while continual motion preserved the feet during the day, and in the night they were stripped bare.

They next approached the country of the Taochians, who, being alarmed with the report of an unknown enemy, abandoned the villages in the plain, and, with their wives, children, and cattle, betook themselves to the mountains. Their provision also had been carried thither; insomuch, that the Greeks found themselves under the necessity of attacking those fastnesses. The barbarians endeavoured to defend themselves, by rolling large stones down the precipices on the invaders; but when these missile weapons were exhausted, the Greeks made themselves masters of the heights, and the women threw first their children down the rocks, and then themselves. This frantic act of despair was followed by the men; and the Greeks took few

few prisoners, but obtained a considerable number of sheep, oxen, and asses.

The army then proceeded, with great celerity, through the bleak and dreary country of the Chalybeans; in which part of their journey they marched about one hundred and fifty miles in seven days. The Chalybeans were the fiercest nation in all those parts: they had linen corslets, greaves, and helmets for their defence; a short falchion was hung at their girdle; and they made use of pikes fifteen cubits in length, with which they attacked an enemy. At the approach of the Greeks, they were so far from betraying any symptom of fear or of flight, that they sung and danced. They boldly defended their villages and property; and the Greeks could obtain no supply from this warlike but inhospitable people.

They now passed the river Harpasus, which divides the territories of the Chalybeans and Scythians; and met with no opposition during their journey through the country of this latter people. When they had arrived on the top of mount Theches, a place held in particular devotion by the inhabitants, the vanguard alarmed the rest of their army with their acclamations. Xenophon, who commanded the rear, hearing the noise, concluded that the army was attacked by an enemy, and therefore advanced with all expedition to the assistance of their comrades. But having arrived nearer, they were seized with the most pleasing sensations, when their ears were saluted from every quarter with the repetition, "The sea! the sea!" They were filled with transports of tumultuary joy, at the sight of an object which they had so long

wished in vain: it recalled to their minds more distinctly and forcibly the recollection of their parents, their friends, their relations, their country, and every thing near and dear to them. The soldiers, with tears in their eyes, embraced each other, and then their commanders; the sympathetic affection was communicated to the whole army, and became so great, that a monument of stones was reared on the occasion. This mount was covered with the arms of barbarians, and was intended as a trophy of their memorable march through so many hostile and populous nations.

The distant prospect of the Euxine sea, which they had now discovered, occasioned the Greeks to forget that they were nearly sixty miles from it, and that the territory which intervened consisted of the trackless forests of the Macronians, and the abrupt and intricate windings of the Colchian mountains. By means, however, of a person among the Grecian targeteers, who understood the language of the barbarians, and had been carried when a youth to Athens, where he had served as a slave, they were enabled to hold friendly intercourse with the Macronians, who supplied them with provision, and conducted them, in three days, to the western frontier of Colchos.

The Colchians, being at enmity with the colonies of the Greeks, that flourished on the shores of the Euxine sea, occupied the heights, and prepared to dispute their passage. If the Greeks should advance against them in the form of a phalanx*, Xenophon was sensible that the in-

* The phalanx was a company, and frequently the whole body of an army, arranged in such order, that their strength

equalities of the ground would break the ranks of the Greeks, and the centre becoming disordered, the enemy, by means of their superior numbers, would outreach either wing of the army. It was, therefore, at first agreed to extend the phalanx in front; and there being very few men left in file, the front of the Greeks would nearly equal that of the Colchians: but it was afterward found necessary to divide the heavy-armed men into companies of a hundred each, and that every division should compose a separate column. In this form attacking the enemy, they completely routed them; and now found themselves within two days' march of the Euxine sea, and no enemy able to oppose their passage thither.

Amidst the formidable hostility of numerous nations, that inhabited the banks of the Euxine, several Grecian cities arose at different intervals, which enlivened the gloom of barbarism, and displayed the superiority and glory of arts and arms. None, however, was more ancient or more renowned than Sinope, situated on a narrow isthmus, annexing a fertile peninsula to the province of Paphlagonia. This city had sent out many colonies to different parts of the

strength was almost incredible, and they could endure any shock, however violent. Polybius describes the phalanx as a square battalion of pikemen, consisting of sixteen in flank and five hundred in front. The soldiers stood so close together, that the pikes of the fifth rank extended three feet beyond the front of the battalion. Those who were too far distant from the front to render any service with their pikes, couched them on the shoulders of them that stood before them, and the pikes being locked together in file, they pressed forward to the support of the front. *Potter's Gr. Antiq.*

 east

east and west, in one of which, named Trapezus, or Trebisond, the Greeks met a friendly reception, after they had spent more than a year in almost continual travelling and warfare.

After staying here for some time, and celebrating, with much pomp and festivity, the gymnastic games and exercises peculiar to the Grecian nation, Cheirisophus was dispatched to the Hellespont, to procure ships from Anaxibius, the Spartan admiral in that sea. Several weeks elapsed, and they heard nothing of Cheirisophus, or of any assistance from the Spartan admiral. They, however, collected such a number of vessels, as might serve to transport to Cerasus the aged, the infirm, the women, and baggage; while the strength of the army passed by land.

After remaining here for some time, to dispose of the booty they had acquired, to procure necessaries, and to review their army, which was found to consist of eight thousand six hundred men, the rest having perished by fatigue, war, cold, and sickness, they pursued their journey through the country of the Mosynæcians. The army next proceeded through the districts of the Chalybians, and arrived in the country of the Tyberenians, who treated the Greeks with much friendship and respect, and conducted them with much kindness and civility to the city of Cotyora, a colony of the Sinopians.

It might have been expected, that the Greeks, having arrived among their friends and relations, would have been disposed to enjoy, in peace and security, the fruits of their past labours and dangers: and if they were not inclined to expose themselves to the hostilities of the

the inhabitants of Paphlagonia and Bithynia, they might have waited until ships had arrived from Sinope and Heraclea, or from the Spartan admiral in the Hellespont; but it is a more difficult matter to conquer the passions, than to overcome an external enemy. The nearer they approached their native country, in the more real danger did their apparent security involve them. They had baffled, during the course of a long and laborious journey, the open attacks and insidious conduct of the hostile barbarians, whose country they had traversed; but the air of a Grecian colony dissolved the discipline and union, which the fear of the enemy had hitherto preserved. While in the east, the Greeks had acted with unanimity and friendship; they now began to feel the fatal effects of their provincial distinctions. Separate interests and opposite designs influenced the army: the wealthy were desirous of returning to their native country; while those who had accumulated no riches proposed to plunder friends and foes, Greeks and barbarians. The generals of the army held in contempt the troops that served under them; whilst the soldiers clamoured against and insulted their commanders.

Xenophon, whose designs and intentions have been fully justified by himself, was ambitious of forming a settlement of Grecians on the coast of the Euxine, which might soon render itself superior to all the other colonies in that neighbourhood, or perhaps to any in Asia. On the southern shores of the Euxine, there were many large and majestic forest trees, wonderfully adapted to the building of ships. There were also convenient harbours for vessels, and the

neighbouring territory abounded with flax, iron, and every other commodity necessary for raising and supporting a naval power. But this noble design, which might have been extremely useful and honourable to the army, was defeated by the mean distrust of the enemies of Xenophon. They accused him of forming wild and dangerous schemes; and insinuated that his intentions were to keep the soldiers from home, that they might continue his dependents; and, while they risked their own safety, procure for him fame and fortune.

Whilst they remained at Heraclea, Cheirisophus returned with vessels from the Spartan admiral, but the number was not sufficient for transporting the whole army. Chagrined at this disappointment, and discontented with the conduct of their commanders, the troops formed a rash and dangerous project of dividing into separate bodies, and of prosecuting their journey through Bithynia to Byzantium, a distance of two hundred miles. In this expedition the Greeks lost above a thousand men; but the destruction would have been much greater, had not the generous activity of Xenophon induced him to lead his own troops in the same direction that those pursued who had weakly deserted his standard. Cheirisophus died soon after, and the chief command devolving on Xenophon, he conducted them safe to Byzantium.

No sooner had they arrived near it, than the mutinous spirit of the Grecian soldiers was again in ferment; and their behaviour terrified the inhabitants of those countries. The Lacedæmonian garrison in the city feared the assistance of such dangerous allies; and Pharnabazus, the

the Persian satrap, alarmed for the safety of his province, made proposals to Anaxibius, to have them removed into Europe. Allured by the bribes of the satrap, Anaxibius and his successor Aristarchus made promises to the Greeks, which they had neither the inclination nor ability to perform. The troops, enraged at this disappointment, and at the treachery of the Spartan commanders, would have attacked and plundered Byzantium, had not the authority and the prudence of Xenophon restrained them.

He besought them with tears and intreaties, not to sully the honour they had acquired by a campaign ever memorable, and for a retreat conducted through so many hostile and barbarous nations. They had already attempted to dethrone the Persian monarch; and if they also should excite the resentment of Sparta, what would be the consequence but the destruction of themselves? Athens, in the height of her splendour and power, sovereign of all the islands, possessed of a great number of cities both in Asia and Europe, with an armament of four hundred gallies, and an immense revenue and sum in her treasury, had not been able to oppose the arms and the power of Sparta. If, therefore, they attacked Byzantium, they assaulted the dominions of a people whose valour was irresistible, and whose vengeance it was impossible for them to avoid.

These arguments repressed the mutinous disposition of the Greeks for the present; but nothing could have restrained them long from attempting enterprises of a similar nature, had not an occasion presented itself of employing their dangerous activity in the service of Seu-

thes,

thes, a bold and successful adventurer of lower Thrace. The father of Seuthes, whose name was Mæsades, reigned over some of the inhabitants on the European shores of the Euxine and Propontis; but his subjects expelling him from his dominions, he sought refuge with Medocus, king of the Odrysians, the most powerful tribe of upper Thrace. Medocus, having been long connected with the family of Seuthes by the ties of hospitality, generously entertained the father; and after the death of Mæsades, extended his benevolence to his son; but the young prince, being of an independent spirit, requested Medocus to grant him horses and soldiers, that he might attempt to regain the possession of his paternal dominions.

He also sent to Xenophon, Medosades, a Thracian, who, understanding the Greek language, served him in the capacity of an ambassador. The terms of the treaty were, that every soldier should have a cycicene (about eighteen shillings sterling), the captains two cycicenes, and the generals four, of monthly pay. Their designs being communicated to the army, the Grecian commanders with their troops set forward for the camp of Seuthes. They arrived there after sunset; and about midnight the whole army was in motion. It was in the middle of winter, and a deep snow covered the ground. The Thracians, clothed in skins of foxes, were sufficiently prepared for this nocturnal expedition; but the Greeks suffered much. The rapidity of their march, however, with the certain prospect of success, made the cold to be less felt. They burned, plundered, and destroyed, wherever they arrived: the ravages and destruction, indeed,

deed, of that bloody night sufficiently represent the uniform scene of cruelty, by which Seuthes, in a few weeks, compelled into submission the inhabitants of the territory between the Euxine and Propontis. This territory, however, which was the most valuable part of the dominions of his father, could not satisfy his ambition. In the space of two months he had extended his possessions several days march from the sea. His numerous but unskilful enemies, fighting singly, were successively subdued; and the tribes whom he had vanquished increased the number and the strength of his army. The Odrysians flocked to his standard; and the growing prosperity of his fortune not seeming to require the support, inclined him to neglect the services of his Grecian auxiliaries. The ungrateful levity of the Thracian was encouraged to this act by the insinuation of a fugitive Greek, who strongly exhorted his master to defraud his countrymen of their pay, and to deliver himself from their importunities by dismissing them his service. Seuthes, however, was afraid to proceed so far: he lost his honour, without saving his money; and the Grecian generals had soon an opportunity to reproach him for his perfidy and ingratitude. They were called away to engage in a more honourable war, which the resentment of Artaxerxes against the presumption of the Spartans, for supporting the unfortunate rebellion of Cyrus, had kindled.

After the downfal of the Athenian greatness, several circumstances contributed to render Persia an enemy to the Spartans. The sovereignty they possessed over all Greece, the conquests they had made on the coasts of Asia, the extent and preeminence

preeminence of their naval power, and, above all, their open participation in the rebellion of Cyrus, excited the resentment of the Persian monarch. Their power rendered them the rival, but their assistance of Cyrus made them the enemy, of Artaxerxes. He therefore resolved to chastise their audacity, and communicated his intentions to Tissaphernes, who was sent to the possession of his hereditary province in Caria, and had all the property of Cyrus bestowed on him, for his recent fidelity and services.

He was also commanded to execute the vengeance of the king upon the cities in Asia that belonged to the Spartan commonwealth. He therefore attacked, without any formalities of declaring war, the Æolians; while the satrap Pharnabazus entered into his views, and concurred in all his measures. The Lacedæmonian garrison, supported by the townsmen, resisted the enemy, and defended themselves with great courage. They, however, sent to Lacedæmon, and earnestly solicited such a reinforcement of troops, as might enable them to repel the enemy, and retain possession of their cities.

The Spartan senate, that they might not be wanting in affording their allies every necessary assistance, levied without delay an army of five thousand Peloponnesian troops, and three hundred Athenian horsemen. Thimbron, the Spartan, obtained the command of these forces, and had orders, as soon as he arrived in Æolia, to take the Greeks into his pay who had engaged in the expedition under Cyrus, and were now employed in the dishonourable service of an ungrateful barbarian. The perfidy and meanness of

of the conduct of Seuthes, who, though a prince, retained his original manners of a Thracian robber, made the proposal of joining his forces to those of Thimbron, very agreeable to Xenophon. Six thousand men, therefore, who were the venerable remains of an army that had suffered so many hardships and dangers, ranged themselves under the standard of Sparta.

Thimbron opened the campaign against the lieutenant of Artaxerxes, and was at first successful. He took or regained the towns of Pergamus, Teuthrania, Halisarnia, Myrina, Cyme, and Grynium; but the walls of Larissa, a strong town in the Troas, defeated every effort for its reduction. The vigilant garrison, assisted by the inhabitants of the place, made a vigorous sally, repelled the besieging army, and burned, or otherwise destroyed their works. The Greek troops, composed of a motley assemblage from almost every Grecian community, could only be restrained from licentiousness by constant action and uninterrupted victory. Their mutinous spirit made them extremely formidable not only to each other, but to the Greeks of Asia. Complaint was therefore made to the Lacedæmonian government of the rapacity of the troops, whose violence was ascribed to the weakness of the general.

In consequence of these representations, Thimbron was deprived of the command, and disgraced, and the Spartans appointed Dercyllidas to be his successor. This man was possessed of very fertile resources, and without changing his principles could vary his conduct. He knew when to relax, and when to exact the obedience of the soldiers; and to the qualifications of a general,

general, added the reputation of being the best engineer of his time. The machines of war, which Dercyllidas invented or improved, occasioned the reduction of Larissa in a little time: and such was the rapidity of his conquests, and the moderate use he made of victory, that the one recommended him to the Spartan senate, while the other endeared him to the colonies of Asia. Their taxes were diminished; their complaints heard with candour; and their differences decided by him with the most impartial justice. Disdaining the cruel and arbitrary conduct of his predecessors, he imposed no oppressive exactions on the peaceful citizens and husbandmen; and that he might not incommode and burden the subjects and allies of Sparta with the maintenance of his troops, he marched into Bithynia, and there fixed his quarters for the winter, where the valour of Xenophon and his brave followers had lately spread the terror of the Grecian name.

Commissioners were sent early in the spring from Sparta, to inspect the affairs of Asia, and, provided their observations concurred with the favourable testimonies they had already received, respecting the administration of Dercyllidas, the Lacedæmonian commonwealth empowered them to prolong his authority for another year. When the commissioners were arrived at Lampsacus, where the army was then assembled, they assured the soldiers, that the Spartan republic entertained as high a sense of their meritorious conduct during the last year, as they had seen reason to condemn their former behaviour. One of the captains informed them, that however great might be the difference of the present, compared

compared with the former conduct of the troops, the contrast between the two generals, Thimbron and Dercyllidas, was still more remarkable. The Spartan commissioners then visited the neighbouring towns of Æolis and Ionia, which they found in a most flourishing and happy condition.

Though Tissaphernes had conducted a numerous and powerful army into upper Asia, his indolence and dilatory conduct enabled the Grecian general to attempt other enterprizes. Ambassadors had been sent to Sparta from the Greek colonies that inhabited the Thracian Chersonesus, requesting the assistance of the Lacedæmonians against the barbarians of the adjoining territory, who greatly disturbed and injured them. The inactivity, therefore, of the Persian governor, affording an apportunity to Dercyllidas, he marched his troops to the protection of those industrious and distressed Greeks. The Chersonesus was one of the most fertile and best cultivated territories of the ancient world. In its extent, which was little more than seven hundred square miles, it contained eleven rich and flourishing cities, and several commodious harbours. Its situation, however, was such, that it joined the country of the fiercest tribes in Thrace, who failed not, on every occasion, to make inroads into this, otherwise happy territory, and to plunder the possessions of the Greeks.

Dercyllidas was sensible, that his troops could easily have repelled the incursions of those barbarous hordes: their villages and habitations might have been destroyed, and their country plundered and laid waste; but when the army had

had been withdrawn, the barbarians would have issued from their secure retreats in the woods and mountains, and pouring down their numerous bands on the helpless Chersonese, with their native fury heightened by resentment, have committed still greater depredations. Dercyllidas, therefore, afforded those unhappy Greeks more useful assistance, by employing not the valour but the labour of the soldiers in their defence. Accordingly, he formed a wall of great strength across the isthmus that joined the Chersonese to the Thracian territory. This wall was commenced in the spring, but not finished until near autumn, although the troops laboured incessantly, and were excited to action by the promise of gain from the wealthy inhabitants of the province.

Dercyllidas had scarcely returned from this useful employment, when the conjoined forces of the two Persian satraps, Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, made their appearance near Ephesus. The Spartan commander immediately collected the whole of his troops, that he might give the enemy battle. The European Greeks displayed an eagerness and zeal for the engagement, worthy of themselves and their country; but the Asiatics, whose minds had been enfeebled and degenerated by a long series of oppression, perceiving the numerous and powerful army of Persia, with which they had to contend, were greatly intimidated, and betrayed symptoms of discontent. This panic might have proved fatal to the cause of Greece, had not the troops of Tissaphernes felt the same fear which they had inspired. They recollected the bravery of the ten thousand Greeks who had accompanied

nied Cyrus in his Persian expedition: Tissaphernes, therefore, was prevailed on, much against the mind of Pharnabazus, to propose a conference; and the irresolution of the Asiatic Greeks engaged Dercyllidas to accept the offer. An accommodation was thus concluded, in which it was agreed, that the Greek cities should remain free; that Dercyllidas should retire with his troops; that the Lacedæmonian governors should leave the cities; and that this treaty should subsist until the king of Persia and the state of Sparta either disavowed or ratified it.

The designs of Tissaphernes, however, in concluding this treaty, were only to gain time by amusing the enemy. The most solemn oaths and engagements had long lost their influence over his treacherous disposition. He waited with impatience for the promised reinforcements out of Asia, that he might renew the war; but what he most wished to receive was a large fleet, equipped and prepared in silence and secrecy by the Persian monarch in the Phenician ports. The Spartan senate, however, were apprized of these extensive preparations by Herodas, a Syracusan; who, animated by his love to Greece, betrayed the counsels of his Phenician master. No sooner were the Spartans certified of the dangers that threatened them, than they became indignant at the treacherous conduct of Tissaphernes, and the too easy credulity of their own general.

The expedition of king Agis against the Elean territory, was the last exploit of his long and warlike reign. In his dying moments, he acknowledged Leotychides as his son, whose legitimacy the levity or the guilt of his mother had

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caused to be disputed. But this late recognition was altogether ineffectual. The partisans of Agesilaus, who was the younger brother of Agis by the side of his father Archidamus, were not satisfied with the avowal of Agis, and therefore contended against Leotychides, whom they entirely supplanted, and Agesilaus became king of Sparta.

Under a diminutive and ignoble form, Agesilaus concealed the most shining and noble qualities, a vigorous and fervid mind, a manly elevation of character, and a generous ambition. These great endowments, adorned by the milder radiance of candour, modesty, condescension, and almost unlimited complaisance for his friends, attracted and preserved the notice and esteem of some of the most respectable persons in Sparta. None, however, was more attached by affection to Agesilaus than Lysander who, as his own ambitious designs and hopes of grandeur had been blasted by the jealousy and resentment excited against his conduct, with like magnanimity endeavoured only to aggrandize his friend. The eloquence and ability of Lysander employed in behalf of Agesilaus were successful; but had he made use of the same powers for himself, they would have availed nothing. It was, therefore, principally by the intrigues and the influence of Lysander, that his favourite was declared successor to the vacant throne. By the same means, also, about two years afterwards, he was elected commander in chief of the Greek armies in Asia; an office less splendid, but of more weight and authority than king of Sparta.

During the intervals of these successive honours, a deep and dangerous conspiracy was hatched

hatched against the existing governments, and in the suppression of which Agesilaus proved his vigilant attention in the service of the republic. Cinadon, a youth of great personal strength and agility, and remarkable for his courage and ambition, was descended from an obscure family; and finding himself excluded from all share in the administration, by the undue partiality of the government of his country to the principles of aristocracy, he formed the resolution of destroying some of the most respectable families in Sparta, and of establishing a milder and more equal dynasty. His designs were communicated to men of his own, and of an inferior condition. He arraigned the arrogance and cruelty of particular senators; and he endeavoured to animate his hearers to the enterprize, by setting before them the strength and numbers of their own party, and the comparative weakness of the enemy, who might be taken unarmed, and cut off by surprize.

In the mean time, Agesilaus performed the accustomed vows and sacrifices for the safety of the republic. The priest, probably from some collusion or intimation given, having examined the entrails, said, that the appearance foreboded a dreadful and concealed danger. A second victim was sacrificed, when the same unfavourable symptoms still appeared; but when the third sacrifice was examined, the priest exclaimed, "We seem, O Agesilaus! to be in the midst of our enemies." Soon after this, Cinadon was denounced to the magistrates as a person guilty of treasonable designs. His accuser said, that Cinadon, having attempted to render him an accomplice of his crimes, desired him to number

in the great square of the city, all the Spartans whom he saw in that spacious resort. He accordingly counted the king, the ephori, the senators, and about forty other Spartans; and then asked Cinadon his motives for requiring him to perform that seemingly useless trouble. "Because," replied he, "I reckon the Spartans to be enemies, and all the rest, whose great numbers you behold in the market place, to be friends. Nor does this proportion, said he, apply only to Sparta; in the adjacent territory, we shall have one enemy in every house, the master, but all the rest will be our partisans." Cinadon then informed him, that the greatest part of the conspirators, having been trained to war, had arms in their hands, and as for the rest that should join them, the shops of the armourers, the tools of the artificers that wrought in wood, stone, and metal, and the instruments of agriculture, would supply them with weapons sufficient for attacking unarmed men.

The Spartan magistrates were roused into activity, by the alarming intelligence they had received. Not knowing, however, the extent of his resources, or the number of his associates, they deemed it imprudent to apprehend Cinadon in the city. Having experienced his readiness and valour to engage in difficult and dangerous enterprizes, they desired him to go to Aulon, to seize and bring to Sparta certain daring violators of the public peace and of the laws of the republic; amongst whom was a beautiful young woman, who corrupted the manners both of young and old. The government prepared waggons, and every thing necessary for conducting the prisoners to Sparta; and the senate appointed a

large

large body of cavalry, to accompany Cinadon in this expedition, who did not in the least suspect that these horsemen had received orders to apprehend himself. No sooner however, had they proceeded to a sufficient distance from the city, than Cinadon was taken into custody, and compelled by the terror of immediate death to denounce his accomplices. Their names being made known to the senate, they were secured, and the principal of them were scourged through the city, gored with instruments of cruelty, and then put to death.

Whilst the rash enterprize of Cinadon filled the minds of men with alarm, the Spartans received the unwelcome intelligence of the formidable preparations made by the Persian monarch; and Lysander engaged them to employ the great

B. C. 396.

and solid, but as yet unknown abilities of their young and warlike prince, against the power of Artaxerxes. Agesilaus was the first Grecian king, since the time of Agamemnon, who led the united forces of his country against Asia. But his expedition, though not less important than the actions of the sons of Atreus, is nevertheless much inferior in renown. The conquests of Agesilaus surpassed in misfortunes the tragical occurrences before Troy. Greece suffered extremely under both expeditions, but the victories of Lysander were more fatal to his country, than the subversion and destruction of the kingdom of Priam.

Three thousand Lacedæmonian freedmen, and a body of foreign troops, chiefly collected from the confederate cities in Peloponnesus, accompanied Agesilaus into Asia. Ever since the irregular and imprudent conduct of Agis

in

in the expedition against Argos, the Spartan kings had been always attended in the field by ten deputies, whose concurrence was necessary in all public measures. Agesilaus, however, demanded, that instead of ten, he might be allowed thirty counsellors. By this artful policy, he augmented the number, but lessened the importance of the Spartan senators. As each person found he possessed less weight and influence in the council, the members were less desirous of the honour of their body; and, therefore, were more easily swayed and governed by the will of the king.

Lysander, whose name in Asia was terrible to some, and illustrious to others, was treated for some time with more honour than Agesilaus. The rest of his colleagues became uneasy at the respect paid to one of their own body, in preference to the rest; and considered themselves as degraded from being counsellors of the king, into officers, or servants of Lysander. They made known their grievances to Agesilaus, who availed himself of their complaints, to humble the arrogance of a rival, that had been the chief author and promoter of his present greatness. He thwarted the measures of Lysander, denied his requests, and employed him in offices derogatory to his dignity. By these means, he rendered him contemptible in the eyes of those, who had formerly feared him.

This ungenerous treatment of a benefactor, and the ambitious views of Lysander himself, which were able to excite in an otherwise virtuous mind, the blackest ingratitude, prove that no true friendship is capable of existing long between two persons animated by a love of power.

After

After an open rupture, which ended in a pretended reconciliation, Lysander was appointed ambassador to the allies of Sparta near the Hellespont. This office he performed with great diligence and integrity, and persuaded Mithridates, a Persian, at variance with Pharnabazus, to revolt with a body of troops and join Agesilaus. But still finding the king ill affected towards him, he returned disgracefully to Sparta, enraged at his disappointment, and vowing revenge for the indignities and insults offered him by a man whom he had always served with fidelity, and whose ingratitude was more intolerable, than the injustice of all his enemies together.

Agesilaus appointed Ephesus to be the head-quarters of his troops; the central situation of which rendered it the most convenient rendezvous for the recruits that flocked to his standard from every part of the coast; and this station enabled him to conceal from the enemy which of their provinces he proposed to invade. Tissaphernes sent a messenger thither to demand of Agesilaus the reason of those vast preparations. Agesilaus made answer, that the Asiatic Greeks might enjoy the same freedom as their European brethren. The messengers from Tissaphernes said, that the colonies should enjoy their ancient freedom and independence. Artaxerxes, they declared, had no hostile intentions against either the Greeks in Asia, or Europe; and the treaty that had been concluded between Tissaphernes and Dercyllidas, might be expected shortly from Suza, ratified and confirmed by the Persian monarch. Until a firm and lasting peace should take place between Artaxerxes and the Greeks, Tissaphernes, therefore, earnestly requested,

requested, that the truce might be continued on both sides, and he was ready to confirm it, in whatever manner Agesilaus thought proper.

The Spartan king remembering the former perfidy of the satrap, and judging that his present and future actions would be similar to those the Greeks had already experienced, frankly confessed his suspicions of treachery. Being unwilling, however, to embroil his country in an unnecessary war, when peace might be obtained, he dispatched Dercyllidas and two other Spartans, to renew the late engagement with Tissaphernes. The perfidious Persian again swore to the fidelity of the engagement, and broke the solemn ties for the last time. When he had received the reinforcements, which he had so long expected, Tissaphernes gave orders to Agesilaus to quit Ephesus, and evacuate the Asiatic coast; and if he refused to comply with these demands, the satrap threatened to employ the whole weight of the Persian arms in enforcing obedience. The friends of the Spartan general were alarmed at this unexpected command; but the prudent or pious Agesilaus seemed more cheerful than usual, and observed that he rejoiced to commence a war under such favourable auspices, in which the gods would undoubtedly revenge their own cause, and punish the treachery of Tissaphernes.

In the mean time, the Spartan general prepared to encounter the insidious arts of the Persian with equal, but more innocent address. Caria was the favourite residence of Tissaphernes, which he had beautified and adorned by many voluptuous parks and palaces, and strengthened with a fortress, in which was deposited all his wealth. Agesilaus industriously propagated a report,

report, that he intended to march into this province, to plunder and lay waste the possessions of Tissaphernes. In order to render this report more credible, he gave commands to the intervening cities to mend the roads, to furnish provisions for the soldiers, and to prepare every thing necessary for facilitating the march of the Grecian army.

From these circumstances, Tissaphernes doubted not that Caria was the intended object of the Spartan's expedition. To this opinion he was still farther inclined, by considering that the province of Caria was mountainous, and therefore cavalry, with which the Greeks were ill provided, could be of little or no service. He thereupon ordered his own body of horse to march to the plains of Meander, and there encamp, that they might intercept the passage of the enemy; but Agesilaus having left a garrison of sufficient strength in Ephesus, quitted that city, and turning north towards the government of Pharnabazus, advanced by rapid marches into Phrygia, the rich plunder of which district well repaid the labour and fatigue of the troops. When Tissaphernes understood whither the Spartan general had directed his course, he was unwilling to weaken his army by attempting the relief of the province of Pharnabazus; and therefore remained inactive on the fruitful banks of the Meander, still expecting that the Greeks would march from Ephesus and attack Caria. During the greatest part of the summer, Phrygia was plundered by Agesilaus. In several engagements the barbarians were routed, and finding, at length, that resistance was vain and ineffectual, they desisted from defending their country.

country. The Greeks were not even harassed in their retreat, but were permitted to return laden with spoil to Ephesus.

The meanest soldier in the Grecian service did not endure more labour nor fatigue, during the Phrygian expedition, than Agesilaus. He was not distinguished by his dress, his food, nor his accommodations, by day or night, from any of his men. The inactive season of the year was most diligently and usefully employed in making preparations for the next campaign. Ephesus and the neighbouring towns glowed with the ardour of providing shields, spears, swords, and helmets; and the Phrygian wealth was employed in hastening the hand of industry. Agesilaus exempted the opulent citizens from the service of the ensuing campaign, provided they furnished a horseman properly equipped, to perform their duty; and he encouraged the inhabitants of the country, by great rewards, to form their best horses to the discipline of the field.

The martial amusements, which formed the truest image and the best school of war, were the exercise of the veteran soldiers and of the new levies within the walls of Ephesus. Often did the Spartan king condescend to dispute with the soldiers of his army the prize of valour or dexterity. His popular and obliging manners gained the affections of his troops; while the superiority of his talents commanded their respect and willing obedience. They vied with one another in loyalty to their prince, and in gratitude to the gods. "What then," says Xenophon, a soldier, a philosopher, and a man of piety, "might not be expected from troops that

that delighted in the exercise of war, respected their general, and reverenced the gods?"

The expectation of Xenophon was fully gratified in the success of the next campaign. In the Lacedæmonian republic, the revolutions of office were annual. Accordingly, the Spartans sent, early in the spring, the commission of thirty counsellors, to supply the place of Lysander and his colleagues. The various departments of military command were distributed among the members of this new council whom Agesilaus deemed most deserving. The superior abilities of Herippidas recommended him to the Spartan; and he was entrusted with the veteran army that served under Cyrus, in his expedition against the Persian monarch. The cavalry were committed to the care of Xenophon. The new levies, raised in the Asiatic territory, were commanded by Mygdo; and the Lacedæmonian freedmen, by Scythes. The general reserved for himself, as his own peculiar care, the whole of the faithful and warlike body of Peloponnesian allies, the flower of their youth.

That he might create in the minds of his soldiers a contempt for the effeminacy of their enemies, he ordered the Phrygian prisoners to be brought forth naked, and exposed for sale. Their habits were soon purchased; but as for themselves, the Greeks considered them of no value whatever. They viewed with contempt the delicate whiteness of their skins, their flaccid muscles, their awkward motions, their shapeless forms, and unwieldy corpulence. An enemy of this kind they regarded as little superior to an army of women. Agesilaus, pointing to the Phrygians, said to the Grecian soldiers,

"*See there against whom we fight;*" and, shewing them their rich spoils, "*and there for what we fight.*"

When the season approached for taking the field, the Spartan commander declared that he should no longer be satisfied with ravaging the extremities, but was determined to enter Lydia, and attack the centre of the Persian dominions. Tissaphernes however, still remembering the first stratagem of Agesilaus, again conducted his troops to the banks of the Meander, and reinforced with the flower of his army the several garrisons in Caria; but the satrap was greatly disappointed in supposing that Caria was the main object of approaching hostilities. The Spartan general was too able a warrior to repeat the same game: he therefore, on this occasion, carried into execution the design he had publicly avowed; and marched his troops into the interior of Lydia, advanced towards the royal city of Sardis, and ravaged the whole adjoining territory without encountering any opposition. He had already acquired much booty, and shaken the fidelity of the Lydians, before Tissaphernes, apprised of his real intentions, could hasten to the relief of the country. The Spartan general, knowing that the infantry of the satrap had not had time to arrive, resolved to give battle to the Persian troops before the whole of the forces should be assembled; and, after several successful skirmishes, the Persians were defeated in a general engagement, on the banks of the river Pactolus. The camp of the enemy was surrounded and taken, in which, besides other riches, he found seventy talents of silver.

After this battle, the Greeks were at liberty to

to plunder and ravage the whole country as they thought proper. Tissaphernes, the perfidious and unrelenting foe of the Grecians, suspecting the event of the engagement, had taken the opportunity of throwing himself, with a considerable body of troops, within the strong walls of Sardis. Here his cowardice prompted him to reside, and he displayed the inglorious pride of pomp and luxury, while his master's valuable provinces were suffering under the despoiling hand of a victorious invader. The time of his punishment was, however, fast approaching: his whole life had been uniformly wicked and disgraceful; but his last action had brought dishonour on the arms of Artaxerxes, and rendered the whole country an easy prey to the hostile invaders. The king therefore cancelled, by one stroke of royal ingratitude, the merit and services of innumerable perfidies and cruelties, committed in order to promote the interests of the Persian monarch. Tithraustes was sent from Suza, to seize this powerful satrap; fearing, however, that he might become a very dangerous enemy, Artaxerxes gave orders that he should act with wariness and caution in this enterprise. Accordingly, Tithraustes requested Tissaphernes to confer with him on the plan of operations intended to be pursued in the next campaign. The obnoxious satrap, not suspecting the design formed against him, attended without a sufficient guard, and was seized, and his head struck off by the commands of the king.

Tithraustes had come from Babylon, escorted by a numerous and powerful body of cavalry,

and was appointed, by the royal mandate, governor of the provinces of Asia minor, and commander of the armies employed against the Greeks. Having removed the only rival who had interest or ability to oppose the execution of his commission, he sent an embassy to the Spartan general; and, that he might induce Agesilaus to enter into his views, he made him some very considerable presents. The ministers of Tithraustes represented, that the author of the war, and of the differences that subsisted between Greece and Persia, having been removed, there was nothing to oppose an accommodation between the two countries. The Persian monarch, they said, consented that the Asiatic cities should enjoy their liberty, provided they paid their customary tribute to the king, and Agesilaus, with his troops, returned into Greece. The Grecian commander replied, that the alternative of peace or war depended not on himself, but on the determination of the assembly and senate of Sparta; that the Greeks considered it as more honourable and glorious to take spoils from their enemies, than to receive presents from them; and that he could not withdraw his army from the east, without receiving the express command of the republic.

The artful satrap, perceiving the impossibility of interrupting, determined at least to divert the course of hostilities. He knew perfectly well the use of money as an instrument of negotiation. The tranquillity of the provinces under his government was therefore purchased with a very large sum; and Agesilaus, considering it as a matter of little importance what part of the

dominions

dominions of Persia was invaded, removed his forces out of Lydia, and marched again into Phrygia, the province of Pharnabazus.

Whilst the Spartan general was pursuing his journey northwards, he received a letter from the magistrates of Lacedæmon, testifying their grateful acknowledgments and admiration of his conduct. The term of his command was also prolonged, and the care of a numerous fleet that had sailed from Greece two years before, in order to co-operate against the common enemy, was entrusted to him. This fleet, consisting of ninety gallies, was commanded by Pharax; and had, during the glorious victories of Agesilaus, performed very signal and meritorious services. Artaxerxes still carried on those naval preparations which had first alarmed Greece. Numerous and powerful squadrons were equipped in the several ports of Phœnicia and Cilicia, and other maritime provinces, so that the Persian fleet was much superior, in point of strength, to the whole naval armament of Greece: but the vigilant and active Pharax prevented the union of those squadrons. The rebellious viceroy of Egypt afforded every necessary for his fleet; and an alliance had been entered into between Sparta and him. Cyprus, Rhodes, and the several ports of the Grecian cities in the Carian Chersonesus, were friendly and open to his cruisers. The Grecian admiral availed himself of these opportunities of annoying the enemy. The hostile shores were strictly guarded: he divided or combined his armament according as the exigency of affairs seemed to require; and he not only prevented the enemy from making a descent on the Peloponnesian coast, but even deterred

terred their ships from navigating the Asiatic seas.

Sparta, however, had no sooner conferred this great and unprecedented honour on Agesilaus, in which the command of the armies by sea and land was confided to him, than, unmindful of the services and activity of Pharax, he removed that very deserving officer from the office of admiral, and substituted in his place Pisander, who was one of his near relations. This man was indeed possessed of the ambitious valour and manly firmness characteristic of the Spartans; but was wholly deficient in the experience and abilities, requisite for the discharge of so important a trust.

Agesilaus still continued in Phrygia, ravaging and desolating the province of Pharnabazus, and obliging the satrap, who was unable to oppose the irresistible force of the Grecian army, to fly from post to post, and at length successively to quit every part of his valuable province. The camp of Pharnabazus was surrounded and forced by a detachment of troops sent under the command of Spithridates, and a very valuable booty found in it. The fame of these victories and exploits procured great respect for the Grecian troops, and inspired the neighbouring countries with terror. Cotys, or Corylas, the king of Paphlagonia, who disdained the alliance of the Persian monarch, humbly requested that the native valour of his numerous and invincible cavalry might be incorporated with the Grecian troops.

Pharnabazus seeing his province ravaged and laid desolate, and unable to resist the depredations of the enemy, demanded an interview with

Agesilaus.

Agesilaus. Accordingly, the place and time being appointed, the Spartan general arrived first, and sat himself down under a tree, in expectation of the satrap. When Pharnabazus appeared, his people spread for him rich carpets of various colours, and magnificent cushions on which to recline; but, perceiving that the Spartan general sat only on the ground, the satrap grew ashamed of his effeminacy, and refused the splendid seat that had been prepared for him.

Pharnabazus then observed, that during the Peloponnesian war he had assisted the Lacedæmonians to the utmost of his power; that he was surprised the Greeks should attack his province, burn and destroy the towns and villages, and ravage the whole country; but that, if it was their custom to treat friends and benefactors in this manner, he knew not why they should make any professions of honour and virtue, when it was plain they distinguished not in their actions, what was just and equitable, from that which was obviously the reverse. These complaints, which were not without foundation, were urged in a modest and pathetic manner. Agesilaus, in reply, told him, that if he would declare himself independent, and prefer the friendship and alliance of the Greeks to the servitude of the Persian monarch, they would defend his possessions, and secure to him the enjoyment of his liberty. Pharnabazus observed, that without a breach of fidelity, and the most treacherous behaviour, he could not quit the service of the Persian monarch, unless the king should give him some very powerful reason for acting thus. To this Agesilaus rejoined, that these noble sentiments made him still more desirous

sirous of the friendship and alliance of Pharnabazus; but since the satrap could not grant them without suffering dishonour, the Greeks should be withdrawn from his government, and not return into his province so long as they could subsist any where else.

Deputies were sent from the inferior satraps of the Persian monarch, soliciting the favour of the Spartan general, in the expectation that the unknown dominion of Greece would be more tolerable and lighter than the oppressive yoke of Persia, which they had long experienced to be rigorous and severe. The deceitful Ariæus, who had shared the guilt but not the punishment of Cyrus, could never be reconciled to Artaxerxes, against whom he had once rebelled. The situation he had formerly held, and the wealth which he possessed, gave him great and unlimited influence over the numerous barbarians that followed the standard of Cyrus, and who were so much discontented with the oppressions under which they suffered, that the flame of revolt might again be easily kindled.

All Asia minor was now in commotion. Egypt, under the discontented and factious Nephres, had already rebelled; and, in short, Agesilaus, at the head of about twenty thousand Greeks, and an almost innumerable body of barbarian allies, might very naturally expect to shake, if not overturn, the throne of Artaxerxes. He certainly did form the design of attacking the Persian monarch in the centre of his dominions, that he might disturb the tranquillity and repose he enjoyed at Ecbatana and Suza. In this he was probably encouraged by the experience of Xenophon, his friend and admirer, who was

was the companion of his arms and the partaker of his glory.

It is probable that, had this enterprise been undertaken, the success, however splendid, would not have been followed by any solid advantages; since Sparta formed too narrow and feeble a basis on which to support such a weight of conquest. But this design proved abortive by means of intelligence, equally unexpected and distressful that arrived from Greece. Tithraustes, seeing the tendency of the victories gained by the Spartan general, and desirous of preventing their effects, determined, with the approbation of Artaxerxes, to endeavour to corrupt with gold the Grecian councils; being well aware, that the pride and oppression of Sparta towards their neighbours and allies, ever since they had become the masters and arbitrators of Greece, had universally disgusted the other states, and excited a discontent, which was ready, on the first occasion, to break out into rebellion.

The unsuspecting confidence of Pisander, the newly created admiral of the Spartans, left the Cretan and Ægean seas very carelessly guarded. This neglect was not unperceived by Tithraustes, who dispatched Timocrates, a Rhodian, into Greece, a person well qualified by bribes and address to gain over to his party the discontented and factious of the Grecian people, that were the enemies of Sparta. Timocrates carried with him no less a sum than fifty talents (about nine thousand pounds sterling), which sum he distributed amongst the seditious citizens of Argos, Corinth, and Thebes. The tyranny of Sparta not only resounded through the several communities of which these venal declaimers were members,

bers, but was soon heard in every other Grecian state. It was represented that the injustice, the cruelty, and the immeasurable ambition of Sparta, had induced that haughty republic to make the slaves soldiers, that she might thereby make her allies slaves. The invasion and destruction of the Elean territory, sacred to the gods, was arraigned in terms of the greatest reproach. It was intimated, that every other Grecian community must expect the same fate, unless they prepared, whilst it was in their power, to resist the oppression of the Lacedæmonian republic: for that the conquests of Sparta in Asia were pursued with no other view than that of lulling the security of Greece, and thereby enslaving more effectually the whole nation.

Sparta, it must be confessed, had, since the subversion of the Athenian greatness, rendered herself equally odious to those who had been her friends and her foes. The Corinthians, Arcadians, and Achæans, who had been the faithful and powerful allies of Sparta, complained with no less warmth than justice, that, after partaking the toils and dangers of the Peloponnesian war, they had been cruelly debarred from participating in the advantages that resulted from victory. The communities which, after the power of Sparta began to appear superior to that of Athens, had revolted from their allegiance to the latter state, complained that their blood and their treasures had been spent in vain. Freedom and independence had been the sole object of their desires, and for them they had bravely contended in all the vicissitudes of the fortune of war; but their valour had been rewarded by the yoke of Sparta, a still more oppressive

pressive and intolerable servitude than what they had before experienced. Argos had for a long time been the enemy, and Thebes now aspired to the rivalship of the Lacedæmonian republic; but Athens, more than all the rest, attempted to rid herself entirely of the Lacedæmonian influence; and the Athenians, animated by the patriotism and virtues of Thrasybulus, who had delivered his country from the tyrannical oppression of aristocracy, longed for nothing more earnestly, than that they might employ the moments of returning strength in the pursuit of glory and of revenge on that state which had reduced them to subjection.

The corruption of those morbid humours, which, if left to themselves, would, in a little time have fermented and become dangerous, was easily hastened by the mercenary emissaries of Tithraustes. Sparta too, employing her arms in the conquest and subjugation of foreign dominion, seemed favourable for being assaulted by the neighbouring and hostile republics. The Thebans, had not, for some time, disguised the sentiments by which they were actuated; and their conduct sufficiently betrayed their hostile intentions against the Spartan commonwealth. The assistance necessary towards carrying on the war in Asia, they had not only absolutely refused; but even when Agesilaus had occasion to pass through their territory in his way to the east, they treated him with great disrespect and indignity.

But how numerous and great soever were the causes, that occasioned a rupture among the communities of Greece, the strength and power of Sparta were so well known, and the valour

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of Agesilaus was so renowned, that none of the Grecian states, inimical to the interests of Lacedæmon, had the courage openly to declare war. After various, but secret conferences, it was determined to attack the Spartans by means of their faithful allies the Phocians. They persuaded a fierce and insolent people, that inhabited a territory in the neighbourhood of Phocis, to levy contributions from a district to which they could have no just pretensions. This country had been the subject of much altercation, and occasioned many disputes between the Thebans and Phocians. The latter people, however, took up arms in consequence of this late aggression, and resolved to revenge the injury done them; whilst the Thebans, on the contrary, prepared to abet the injustice of the Locrians. It was expected, and the expectation was gratified, that the Spartan commonwealth would soon interfere in a matter, which so nearly concerned the interests of her faithful allies of Phocis.

The Locrians applied to Thebes for assistance, which was readily granted them; and the Phocians addressed themselves to Sparta, acknowledging they were the aggressors, but declared that they had been obliged to have recourse to arms for the defence of their territories. The irascible pride of Sparta, always ready to inflict the greatest severities for the most trivial offences, was inflamed by the supposed injury their allies had suffered, and thus conspired with the sanguine expectations of the Thebans. Lysander, though now an old man, grew extremely uneasy at the inactivity of his life; the Thebans also had become obnoxious to him, because they had assisted Athens in shaking off the yoke of the

the thirty tyrants; and therefore, he persuaded the ephori and senate, once more to intrust him with the command of an army.

As soon as Lysander had prevailed in his request, he began to make preparations for commencing hostilities; and having assembled the Maleans, Heracleans, and other northern confederates of Sparta, he put himself at the head of a powerful body of troops, and penetrated into the Theban territories, whilst Pausanias, the Spartan king, with six thousand Peloponnesians, co-operated with this experienced commander, and attacked Bœotia, on the side of Cithron. Lysander having reduced several towns in the territory of Thebes, proposed to march against Haliartus, and sending notice to Pausanias of his intentions, desired him to hasten thither with his troops. The unfortunate messenger, however, was intercepted, and the letter, in which Lysander had signified his purpose, and appointed the time and place of rendezvous, was carried to Sparta.

When this useful intelligence was made known to the Thebans, there arrived in their city a large reinforcement of Athenian troops, whom, though their own capital was defenceless and without walls, Thrasybulus had persuaded to brave the resentment of Sparta. To these auxiliaries, the Thebans entrusted the defence of their city, their wives, their children, and their dearest interests; and the warlike youth of Thebes, and all those of a military age assembled, and marched to Haliartus, a space of fifteen miles, during the night. No sooner did they arrive at that city, than the inhabitants, supposing they had been enemies, were filled with the greatest consterna-

tion; and when they understood who they were, and the object of this nocturnal expedition, they were still more deeply affected. The Thebans endeavoured to dissipate the fears, and excite the hopes of their friends, by representing that they should not only be able to save the town from falling into the hands of the enemy, but obtain a great and signal victory over the Spartan troops.

Lysander arrived in the neighbourhood of Haliartus the same night; but, though at the approach of day he heard nothing of Pausanias, his troops being flushed with recent victory, and disdaining to depend on the tardy motions of their auxiliaries, he was induced to make an assault upon the town. Accordingly, he drew up his forces, and perceiving the walls and battlements to be unguarded, he entertained great hopes of success. Before, however, any breach was made, the gates were suddenly thrown open, and the Thebans and Haliartians issued out in order of battle, and with irresistible fury. The Lacedæmonians were instantly attacked with great bravery; and Lysander, with a priest that attended him, was slain on the first onset. Before the Spartan troops had time to recover from their confusion and astonishment, a body of Thebans, who had been placed in ambush, fell upon their rear, and excited a new terror. The Lacedæmonians then every where gave way, and the defeat became universal. The Thebans lost in this engagement three hundred, and their enemies a thousand men.

The news of this discomfiture being made known to Pausanias, he marched with all expedition to Haliartus, and endeavoured by every

means

means in his power, to recover the dead body of Lysander. Some of the Spartan commanders proposed that they should attack the enemy, and rescue, by force of arms, the body of their general; but Pausanias, considering that the troops with whom they had to contend were animated by their recent victory; that the forces of the enemy were more numerous than the Spartans he commanded; and that Thrasybulus, the Athenian, an active and enterprising general, had now joined those in the town; determined to reject this proposal. He thought it more adviseable to condescend to implore the pity and the humanity of the victors; and accordingly, a Spartan herald was sent to Haliartus, requesting leave to bury their dead. The demand was complied with, on condition that the Lacedæmonians immediately evacuated the territory of Bœotia: Pausanias agreed to these terms, and retired to Sparta. When he returned to Lacedæmon, such a spirit of resentment appeared against him, on account of his want of success, rather than demerit, that he was tried for his life and condemned. He, however, contrived means to avoid capital punishment, and fled to Tegæa, where he sickened and died; and his son, Agesipolis, an inexperienced young man, succeeded to the Spartan throne.

The defeat of the Spartans at Haliartus confirmed the courage of their enemies, and accelerated the defection of their numerous allies. The republics of Thebes, Argos, Athens, and Corinth, openly ratified and avowed the league, that had been formed against the Spartan commonwealth. The island of Eubæa, the provinces of Acarnania, Leucas, Ambrosia, the rich cities

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of Chalcis, and the warlike principalities of Thessaly, shewed symptoms of revolt. In order, therefore, to obviate the effects of this almost general defection, and to hinder the rest of their allies from acting in the same manner, it was found requisite to recal Agesilaus from his Asiatic victories, that he might prevent the ruin of his country. Accordingly, the fatal scytale* was received at the important crisis of his fortune. He had prepared his levies, and was about to march into upper Asia, rejoicing in the prospect of conquest and of glory, when he was summoned to return to the defence of Sparta.

B. C. 394.

He immediately made known the revered orders he had received from his country; while his troops besought him by tears and intreaties, not to obey the cruel mandate, but to lead them against the central possessions of the Persian monarch. The Spartan general, however, remained firm and inflexible to his purpose, resolved to set bounds to the triumphs of his arms in the east, and to pursue less promising, but not less necessary views. Accordingly he immediately prepared for his return to Sparta; and marched his troops, amounting to about ten thousand men, into the Chersonesus. He then

* The scytale was nothing more than a narrow scroll of parchment, that had been first rolled with a piece of wood, and then stamped with the decree of the republic. Every Spartan invested with any authority either at home or abroad, was possessed of a tally, exactly corresponding with the rod on which the parchment had been first rolled. When, therefore, he applied his tally, the words of the scytale necessarily arranged themselves in their original form, and by that means attested the authenticity of the magistrates' command.

traversed

traversed the same countries into Greece, through which Xerxes had marched near a century before; but what the Persian monarch performed only in the space of a year, Agesilaus accomplished in a month.

He continued his journey through Thessaly, and entering the territory of Bœotia, marched towards the Theban frontiers. He found the enemy rather provoked than discouraged, by a bloody but undecisive battle that had been fought against the Lacedæmonians, on the borders of Corinth and Sicyon. The troops of the confederates amounted to twenty thousand men; and the army of Agesilaus, having lately received great reinforcements from Sparta, and other cities, that still retained their fidelity for that republic, might probably be about the same number. The hostile battalions began to approach each other; the Lacedæmonian troops marched in good order, along the banks of the Cephissus, while the Theban soldiers descended, with great impetuosity from the mountains of Helicon; but before they arrived in the Bœotian plains of Coronæa, an eclipse of the sun alarmed the two hostile armies.

Here it was that Agesilaus received very unexpected and unpleasing intelligence from Asia. He had imprudently committed the command of the Lacedæmonian fleet to the obstinacy and inexperience of his kinsman Pisander; whilst the Persian squadrons were entrusted to Conon and Pharnabazus, two officers of great experience. The combined armament of Persia sailed in quest of the hostile fleet. As they turned the northern point of Rhodes, they beheld the Lacedæmonian squadron, amounting to near a hundred

dred ships, in a capacious bay of the Dorian shore. The sullen obstinacy of Pisander did not appear shaken by the approach of so formidable a fleet, and he instantly commanded his men to prepare for battle. Accordingly, the Lacedæmonians bore up to engage the enemy, but on a nearer view, were terrified at the great superiority of numbers, and the greater part of them turned their vessels towards the friendly shore of Cnidus. Pisander advanced in his galley to meet the enemy, and died fighting bravely in defence of the honour of his country. The victors pursued and sunk great numbers of the enemy's fleet; they also captured fifty gallies, which they safely carried off.

Agesilaus being made acquainted with these unwelcome tidings, was sensible that the consequences of this engagement would be the defection of all the cities from Cnidus to Byzantium. He therefore assembled his troops, informed them of the death of Pisander, but carefully concealed the defeat of the fleet, and asserted, that though the admiral was slain, a complete victory had been obtained over the Persian squadrons. He then gave orders, that acknowledgments and sacrifices should be offered to the gods; and decorating himself with a chaplet of flowers, set the example to his men of performing this pious service. This had the desired effect; and the Lacedæmonian troops were elated with the thoughts of the exploits their countrymen had achieved in the east.

In the mean time, the main bodies of the hostile armies advanced into the plain of Cheronæa. Agesilaus gave the left wing to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. The Thebans began

began the engagement with great impetuosity, and bore down every thing before them; but the troops immediately under the command of Agesilaus, repelled the left wing of the army, consisting chiefly of Argives and Athenians. The Spartan general was already saluted as conqueror by the troops that surrounded him, when he was informed, that the Orchomenians had been repulsed and put to the rout. In order, therefore, to intercept the Thebans, who were hastening to seize the baggage, Agesilaus marched towards the left wing of the army. The Thebans perceiving this movement of the enemy, attempted to join and rally their allies, that fled towards the mountains of Helicon. The Spartan king, instead of allowing the enemy to pass, when he might have attacked their flank and rear with great advantage, boldly opposed their progress, and assailed them in the front. Here, says Xenophon, in the energetic and inimitable language of Greece, the shock was dreadful. Their shields meeting clashed; they fought, slew, and were slain; no voice was heard, yet none was silent: the field resounded with the noise of rage and battle; and this was the most desperate and bloody scene of an action, which was itself the most desperate and bloody of any in that age.

At length, however, the Lacedæmonians finding it impossible to break the firmness of the Theban front, were obliged to make use of the expedient they had at first rejected; accordingly, they opened their phalanx to let them pass, and then charged them in the flank and rear. The Thebans, however, effected their passage to the Helicon; but could not prevail on their allies to

renew

renew the engagement. The Spartans were, therefore, left masters of the field of battle; but it was a victory so dearly purchased, that the conquerors could reap no beneficial consequences. The place where this engagement was fought, was covered with steel and blood: the bodies of friends and of foes were promiscuously heaped together; and the whole presented an assemblage of objects too dreadful for humanity to contemplate.

In this battle Agesilaus received several wounds from different kinds of weapons; but he still continued to animate his soldiers during the contest both by his words and actions; nor would he retire to his tent, until he had seen the dead bodies of his soldiers carried from the field upon their own arms. The next day, the victors employed themselves in erecting a trophy on the scene of this important action; and the enemy sent a herald to request permission to bury their dead.

The battle of Cheronæa, and sea engagement off Cnidus, were the most considerable and decisive actions in the Bœotian or Corinthian war. The inhabitants of Corinth had greatly promoted the alliance of the Grecian and other states against the Spartan commonwealth. No sooner, however, did the Corinthians feel the effects of having the seat of war in their own country, than they repented of the measure they had so rashly recommended; and the more wealthy inhabitants desired a separate peace, to accomplish which they intended to summon an assembly of the people, who might resolve on what was most expedient to be done.

But whilst this was in agitation, Timolaus and Polyanthes,

Polyanthes, the mercenaries of a barbarian slave, and, nevertheless, the pretended patrons of Corinthian liberty, contrived to anticipate a design so unfavourable to their interests. They committed, in conjunction with others of their party, one of the most horrid massacres recorded in history. On the Eucleian festival, when many of the citizens were in the market-place, or assembled at the dramatic entertainments, an assault was made by the partisans of democracy. All the Corinthians were destroyed, whom they considered as most likely to oppose their measures; and the great body of the people, when they perceived that nothing could restrain the fury of their persecutors, and that neither temples nor altars afforded any protection, prepared to leave their country. They were, however, restrained from executing this design, by the lamentable cries of their wives and children, and by the declaration of the assassins themselves, who assured them, that their only intention was to deliver their city from traitors, who were the friends of Sparta and of slavery.

In the mean time, the patriotic Conon, who desired no personal reward for the services he had rendered the Persian monarch, employed his favour with Artaxerxes to retrieve the affairs of his country. This was the honourable motive that had alone engaged and that still retained him, in the service of Persia. By his representations, he inflamed the resentment of Artaxerxes and Pharnabazus, which both the king and the satrap had justly harboured against Sparta. He persuaded them to send a fleet, early in the spring, to ravage the coasts of Greece, and retaliate the injuries received by the victories of

Agesilaus.

Agesilaus. He told them, that to humble completely the Spartan pride, they should raise Athens to the pitch of greatness, which she once possessed, and make her become again the successful rival of that imperious republic.

This proposal of the able Athenian was heard, and approved. The expenses necessary for carrying the design into execution, were liberally supplied; and the Persian fleet setting sail reduced the Cyclades and Cythera, and ravaged the whole coast of Laconia. The armament then directed its course to the long neglected harbours of Phalerus, Munichia, and Piræus. The very important task of decorating and fortifying the ancient city of Minerva, was begun, carried on, and soon accomplished; and Conon, seconded by the zeal of the Athenians, in a short time rebuilt the walls of Athens, restored the city to its ancient splendour, and rendered it more formidable than ever to its enemies.

When this mortifying intelligence was brought to Sparta, the citizens of that republic, considering the power and grandeur of a city, their ancient rival, and almost continual enemy, as the certain destruction of their own state, felt the most pungent affliction. They were now ready to abandon every other design, and to submit to the most humiliating terms, provided they could prevent the growing greatness of Athens, and induce the Persian monarch to withdraw his support from that dangerous republic. That they might effect this, they sent several successive embassies to Persia; and whilst they paid their court to the other satraps of Artaxerxes, they purposely neglected Pharnabazus, from whom, as the victories of Agesilaus had

B. C. 392.

had been peculiarly detrimental to the provinces of that warlike Persian, they could not reasonably expect any favour.

Among the ministers employed by the Spartan republic, at the court of Persia, was Antalcidas, a man, of whose prior history we have no account. If we except the artful and daring Lysander, Sparta never employed a more proper agent to treat with the barbarians. He is said to have been bold, eloquent, subtile, and complying. A master in all the arts of insinuation and address, he was well qualified to undertake and execute the design on which he was sent. He not only pretended to admire the effeminate customs and adulation of a corrupt court, but conformed himself in every thing to the Persian manners, and derided the severe institutions of his own country. The frugal and self-denying maxims of Lycurgus were the peculiar objects of his real or feigned contempt; but he, in a more particular manner, delighted the voluptuous, cowardly, and perfidious satraps and courtiers, when he ridiculed the firmness and probity of Leonidas and Callicratidas, men who had rendered signal and essential service to Greece, at the expense and dishonour of Persia.

The abilities of such a minister, were also aided by the imprudent ambition of Conon. Unmindful of his engagements to act against the common enemy, he considered only how he might promote the interest and power of the Athenian republic. He sailed with his fleet to the Cyclades, to Chios, to Lesbos, and even to Æolis and Ionia, and displaying the strength of his armament, endeavoured to persuade or compel them to submit again to the authority of Athens

Athens. When it was known that Sparta had sent ministers to treat with the Persian monarch, a deputation was also dispatched from the Athenian republic, with orders to act in concert with the ambassadors sent by the Bœotians and Argives. Their overtures however, were but little regarded, while those of Antalcidas met with the warmest approbation.

The Spartans offered to resign all pretensions to the Greek cities in Asia, and acknowledge them as the dependencies of the Persian monarch; and they promised to promote the future prosperity of the king's dominions, by settling the affairs of Greece in such a manner, as should best suit the conveniency and the wishes of Artaxerxes. For this purpose, they were ready to declare all the cities and islands, of what extent soever, altogether independent of each other; in consequence of which there would be no republic sufficiently powerful to disturb the tranquillity of the Persian empire. These terms of peace, which the most insolent minister of the king could alone have dictated, were transmitted to Suza, by the satrap Terribazus, to be approved and ratified by Artaxerxes. Antalcidas received a pecuniary reward for his services; but the unfortunate and patriotic Conon was punished by immediate death, or sentenced to an ignominious confinement. Authors are variously agreed, as to the fate of this able and worthy man; but his actions confer on him an important place, in the rank of Grecian worthies; and his son Timotheus, supported and rivalled the character of an illustrious father.

It might have been expected, that the conditions of peace, offered by Sparta, would have experienced

perienced no opposition from the Persian court; especially as the advantages they held out to Artaxerxes were extremely great; but the negociations were suffered to languish for several years. This delay was occasioned by the removal of Terribazus from his place of viceroy, who was succeeded by Struthas, a man greatly devoted to the interests of Athens; and by the powerful solicitations of the Bœotian and Argive deputies, who represented the designs and sincerity of the Spartan commonwealth, in a very unfavourable point of view.

Whilst the court of Suza refused to confirm and ratify the treaty of peace, the war in the Grecian states was pursued with unremitting vigour. The harvests and the villages, belonging to the enemies of Sparta in Peloponnesus, were destroyed by the Lacedæmonian garrisons of Sicyon and Lechæum; and on the other hand, the Bœotians and Argives retaliated those injuries upon the Spartans, by making several hostile incursions into the Lacedæmonian territories, which they ravaged and laid waste; while the Athenians, as if they had obtained the sovereignty of the sea, made all the preparations in their power to man and equip their fleets.

The ancient and well merited fame of Thrasybulus had, during the latter part of Conon's life, been eclipsed by the recent and more dazzling splendour of his renown; whilst Athens verged towards power and independence, by the exertions of Conon, the extraordinary abilities, and still more extraordinary fortune of Thrasybulus, in rescuing his country twice from the yoke of tyrants, seemed almost forgotten by the ungrateful Athenians. But after Conon had

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been put to death, or imprisoned, Thrasybulus had the command of the fleet of Athens, consisting of forty sail, entrusted to him. With this armament he scoured the Ægean sea, and directed his course to the Hellespont, persuaded or compelled the inhabitants of Byzantium, and of several other Thracian cities, to break their alliance with Sparta, to abolish the aristocratical form of government, and to accept the friendship of Athens.

The isle of Lesbos was the next object to which he directed his attention. The Spartan power was here maintained by a considerable body of troops. Thrasybulus landed his men on the island, and engaged the enemy in a general battle, in which he obtained a complete victory, and slew with his own hand Therimachus the Spartan governor, who commanded the hostile troops; on which the principal cities of Lesbos immediately acknowledged themselves dependents of Athens. Thus victorious he sailed towards the island of Rhodes, where he knew there still existed a powerful faction in favour of the Athenians; but before he proceeded to that important place, he thought it advisable to multiply the resources, and confirm the affections of the fleet.

That he might raise supplies, therefore, for this exigency, he visited most of the maritime cities of Asia. At length he entered the mouth of the river Eurymedon, and began to levy a very heavy contribution on the inhabitants of Aspendus; but though the barbarians had endured with great patience and servility the depredations to which they were often exposed, they could suffer them no longer. They could not

brook

brook the unfeeling rapacity and intolerable exactions of the soldiers and sailors under the command of Thrasybulus. Attacking therefore the Grecian camp during the night, the security of the Athenian general was surprised; and Thrasybulus fell a sacrifice to the error he had committed.

The unjust treatment of Aspendus, one of the interior cities of Pamphylia, a province that acknowledged the power of the Persian monarch, furnished Antalcidas with a sufficient argument for prosecuting his suit with Artaxerxes. That vigilant and artful minister did not let slip so favourable an opportunity of rousing the resentment of the king against the Athenians, his ancient and inveterate foes. It is, however, uncertain, whether Antalcidas would have been able to effect his purpose, and to procure the ratification of the treaty of peace, had not the mad imprudence of the Athenians decided the fluctuating irresolution of Artaxerxes, and crowned the triumphs of Antalcidas.

Evagoras was at this time king of Salamis, in the island of Cyprus, who is represented as a man that governed with consummate wisdom a kingdom which he had acquired by heroic valour. Teucer is said to have been an ancestor of this prince, and who, returning from the expedition against Troy, about eleven hundred and sixty years before Christ, founded the first Grecian colony on the shore of Cyprus. During the space that intervened between the reigns of those two kings, Salamis had undergone various revolutions. The throne had been usurped by a Phœnician called Abydamon, under whose reign Evagoras was born and educated. The young prince fled to

 Cilicia,

Cilicia, and obtaining the favour of the Satrap, who governed in that province, returned to Salamis with a few followers and expelled the usurper. Being thus restored by his own valour and the affections of his subjects to the throne of his ancestors, Evagoras soon rendered his small kingdom the most flourishing of the whole island.

This prince had ever entertained a fond partiality for the republic of Athens, in whose language, arts, and institutions, his youth had been liberally instructed. When the power of Sparta prevailed, and the Athenian greatness which that republic had maintained for seventy years, was completely humbled, Evagoras sincerely lamented her misfortunes, and afforded hospitality and protection to her oppressed and afflicted citizens, while the Athenians assisted him in arts and industry, and in extending the navigation and commerce of his kingdom. Salamis, therefore, soon became a considerable naval power, and able to subdue and incorporate with her own subjects the inhabitants of the neighbouring states. Artaxerxes, whose power had been long acknowledged in Cyprus, interfered not in the domestic concerns of the island, provided his small customary tribute was regularly paid.

The signal victories of Conon and Thrasybulus and the rising fortune of the Athenian state induced Evagoras who had lately taken some disgust at the conduct of Artaxerxes, to execute a design he had long meditated, of throwing off the yoke of Persia. He knew, that Egypt was in a state of rebellion, and that Artaxerxes had engaged in a war with the Carduchians. The Persian fleet, however, continued in the Phœnician and Cilician harbours ready to be employed in

in any new enterprize. The activity and courage of the king of Salamis with the assistance of his son Protagoras, obtained an easy victory over the first squadron sent to invade the island. But Evagoras fearing the arrival of a much superior armament, requested and obtained the assistance of Athens; a republic not only at peace with Persia, but whose ministers were then at Suza, endeavouring to prevent an accommodation with Sparta.

This extraordinary measure of the Athenians determined Artaxerxes to espouse the cause of Sparta. Accordingly, the king dictated the terms of peace, in nearly the same words that Alcibiades had first proposed. By this treaty it was agreed, that whatever community rejected the conditions of the peace, the Persian monarch in conjunction with the Spartan republic, should make war upon that state. It was foreseen that Athens, Thebes, and Argos, might reject the terms of a treaty proposed by their avowed enemies; Antalcidas accordingly, aided by the Persian monarch equipped a very powerful armament, and the preparations made in Asia and Greece intimidated the confederates, and compelled them to comply with a peace as disgraceful and it was injurious. The Bœotian cities were acknowledged as independent; but the Greek cities in Asia, the island of Cyprus, and the peninsula of Clazomene were made subject to Persia. Athens was allowed to retain the isles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Syros; but all the other republics small and great, were made free and independent.

B. C. 387.

Amidst the universal obsequiousness of the

Grecian communities to the haughty demands of Persia, Evagoras was the only person, that durst oppose the execution of the terms of the treaty: he asserted the independence of Cyprus, and prepared to resist the commands of the king, and to set the power of Artaxerxes at defiance. Evagoras confided in the resources of his own vigorous mind, in the superiority of skill which his seamen possessed, and in the assistance of the king of Egypt; but the numerous and powerful squadrons of Terribazus, which he had prepared for this purpose, blasted all his hopes. His forces were discomfited in a naval engagement; his territories were ravaged, and he was obliged to shut himself up in Salamis, which the enemy threatened with a siege. His enemies, however, did not wish to persevere, nor to drive him to despair. They therefore permitted him to retain the possession of the ancient principality of Teucer, but as a tributary to the Persian monarch.

B.C. 385.

CHAP. XIII.

Affairs of Greece from the Peace of Antalcidas, to the Battle of Midea.

THE peace of Antalcidas forms an important but disgraceful epocha in the annals of Grecian history. The valuable colonies in Asia which had been the cause and the object of so many wars, were now fully acknowledged as dependencies of the Persian king. Artaxerxes arranged the plan of domestic policy to be pursued by

by a people, that less than two hundred years before had given law to his ancestors. The Greeks now found their ancient confederacy dissolved; their smaller cities were freed from dependence on the more powerful republics; the whole nation was disunited, and weakened; and they experienced indeed the languor, but not the benefits of peace.

And if the whole Grecian name was dishonoured, as it certainly was by accepting this ignominious treaty, in what view shall we consider the conduct of the Spartan magistrates on the occasion? Will not peculiar and eternal infamy attach to them, as the authors and promoters of a peace fraught with ruin and disgrace? Ambitious of the sovereignty of Greece, Sparta saw with concern the walls and fortifications of her rival rebuilt, and Athens endeavouring to regain the command of the sea; Thebes and Argos disdaining to acknowledge her pre-eminence; the inferior states of Peloponnesus obeying with reluctance the summons to arms; and the valuable colonies in Macedon and Thrace joining the confederates. No vestige scarcely remained of the trophies which had been erected in a war of twenty-seven years. The colonies in the east were irrecoverably lost; and this rapid decline of power had been principally occasioned, by the splendid victories of Agesilaus in Asia.

These were probably the causes that moved Sparta to solicit and promote a treaty, so pregnant with ruin and destruction to the several communities of Greece. The first victim of this ambitious policy was the flourishing republic of Mantinæa, situated in the center of Arcadia, which was itself in the middle of Peloponnesus.

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The year following the treaty of Antalcidas, the Spartan commonwealth sent ambassadors to Mantinæa, with orders to inform the inhabitants, that the Lacedæmonians were displeased at their conduct in furnishing the Argives, the avowed enemies of Sparta, with corn during the late war; and that they had on several occasions expressed their gladness when any misfortune happened to the Lacedæmonians. In consequence of those treasonable designs, which the Mantinæans had manifested, the ambassadors concluded by informing them, that they must demolish their walls, and abandon their city.

To these demands the Mantinæans refused to accede. The Spartans, therefore, declared war against that republic, and having assembled a powerful army, sent their king Agesipolis to invade the hostile territory. Nothing, however, could shake the resolution of the Mantinæans: their walls were high and strong, and bade defiance to any assault; nor was a siege likely to promise success to the invading army Agesipolis, however, embraced this uncertain mode of attack, and having first drawn a ditch, and then a wall round the place, employed part of the troops in working, and the other in defending the workmen; but finding that this plan was not likely to answer his purpose, he proposed a new measure which was attended with complete and almost immediate success.

The Ophis, which descends from the mountain Achisius, having collected many rivulets in its course, becomes a broad, deep, and rapid river, and flows through the plain, and the city of Mantinæa. Having therefore, prevented the course of that river, the lower part of the fortifications

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of the city were laid under water; and the walls being composed of raw bricks, the water caused them to give way, and fall to pieces. The besieged endeavoured to prop them with wood, but finding their efforts ineffectual, and that the enemy could not be long excluded, sent to offer terms of capitulation. They requested the Spartans to permit them to inhabit their city, and promised they would destroy their fortifications, and enter into an alliance with Lacedæmon.

These proposals were however rejected, and the Mantinæans dreading an immediate assault, were obliged to comply with the humiliating demand of the Lacedæmonians, and to abandon their native place.

No sooner had the Spartans terminated this transaction, than seizing an opportunity of domestic faction among the Phliasians, they manifested the same arbitrary and tyrannical spirit, but with still greater severity. It happened that the faction which prevailed in Phlius, had banished their opponents, who were the friends of Sparta and of aristocracy. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, interfered and threatened them with severe punishment, if they did not recal their exiled citizens. Not however meeting with that respectful treatment on their return to Phlius, which they considered as due to persons so ably protected, they complained to Agesilaus, who ordered commissioners to try and condemn to death the obnoxious Phliasians.

In the mean time ambassadors arrived from Acanthus and Apollonia, two very considerable cities of the Chalcidica. These men requested the assistance of the Lacedæmonians against Olynthus, a town of Thrace, situated in a fertile and

and secure district, that lies between the river Olynthus and Amnias. The conduct of the Athenian government first obliged the maritime inhabitants of the Chalcidica, to take refuge in the walls of Olynthus. The oppressive tyranny of Sparta next induced them to strengthen the walls of their city, and to provide garrisons sufficient for defending them. The weakness of Macedonia and the subsequent disasters of the two most powerful republics in Greece, encouraged them to aim at conquest, and many towns became incorporated or associated with their own. They had already conquered the southern shores of Macedonia; and they aspired at still more extensive dominion.

The deputies from the cities of Acanthus and Apollonia, represented in the general assembly of the allies, that the ambition of the Olynthians seemed to increase with the increase of their power;—that they had wrested from the king of Macedonia some of his most valuable provinces;—that they were about to enter into a confederacy with Thebes and Athens, which if they did, it would be impossible for any city in their neighbourhood to resist the force that would thus be brought against them. The present emergency, therefore they urged, solicited the activity and valour of their republic by every motive of interest and honour; and that if Sparta should yield a seasonable assistance to Acanthus and Apollonia, the ambition and power of Olynthus would be checked, and the Chalcidican cities encouraged to revolt.

In consequence of those representations, the Lacedæmonians commanded Eudamidas, with two thousand men under his command, to proceed

ceed immediately to Macedonia; and his brother Phœbidas was ordered to collect a powerful reinforcement, with which to follow. The few troops under the command of Eudamidas, were of essential service. Those garrisons which the Spartan commander considered as most weak and exposed to the attack of the enemy, he strengthened with his troops; and such was the effect which the sight of a Spartan army produced in the Chalcidica, that great numbers of the subjects and allies of Olynthus revolted, and arranged themselves under the standard of Eudamidas. But the Lacedæmonian commander, too much elated by the success that had hitherto attended him, laid waste the Olynthian territory, and approaching the city without sufficient caution, was intercepted, conquered, and slain by the enemy; and his army destroyed or lost.

After the death of Eudamidas, Teleutias, the brother of Agesilaus, was sent with a body of ten thousand men into the Chalcidican territory; and was joined in this expedition by Amyntas, king of Macedonia. The Olynthians being compelled to retire within the walls of their city, Teleutias marched with his whole army to besiege or assault the place. The cavalry of the Olynthians passing the river Amnias, he gave orders to Tlemonidas, who commanded the targeteers, to repel them. The Olynthian horse retreated in good order across the river; but when a considerable part of the Lacedæmonians had also passed over in the pursuit, the Olynthians faced about, attacked, and slew great numbers of the Spartans, and amongst them Tlemonidas himself.

Teleutias beheld with grief and indignation the destruction of his brave troops; and grasping his

his shield and lance, led his whole force, without order, against the enemy. He pursued them to the walls of their city, when the inhabitants mounting the ramparts and fortifications, assailed the Spartans with stones, darts, and other missile weapons; at the same time, also, a body of the Olynthian troops sallied forth out of the city, and attacked the enemy. The Spartans gave way, and the whole army being repelled, was pursued with great slaughter, and their general Teleutias slain.

These mortifying disasters, however, did not abate the pride and ambition of Sparta. Polybiades, their general, invested the city by land with a powerful army, whilst a numerous squadron blocked up the neighbouring harbour of Mecyberna. The Olynthians, pressed by famine, were obliged to capitulate. They ceded all claim to the sovereignty of the Chalcidica; restored the Macedonian cities to their rightful owner; and engaged by solemn contract, to obey in peace and war the commands of their Spartan confederates and masters. Amyntas then forsook the place of his royal residence, and re-established his court at Pella, which became, and thenceforth continued, the capital of Macedonia.

Phæbidas, who was intended to follow Eubidas into the Chalcidican territory with a powerful reinforcement, knowing the distracted state of Thebes at this time, and, as it is said, having received private instructions from his government, seized upon Cadmea the Theban citadel, and commanded Ismenias and other leaders of the popular faction to be taken into custody. The Spartan senate, that they might avoid the blame which this action would

B. C. 383.

undoubtedly

undoubtedly occasion, deprived Phæbidas of the command of the army, and mulcted him in the sum of one hundred thousand drachmas.*

During five years the Spartan government maintained a garrison of fifteen hundred men in Cadmea. The partisans of aristocracy, protected by such a body of troops, gained an absolute ascendancy over the rest of the city; and the tyranny exercised in that republic was so great, that it resembled the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of the thirty tyrants at Athens. This severity drove the Thebans to despair; and the persecuted exiles abroad, and the oppressed subjects at home were ready to embrace any measure that might seem likely to free their country from the tyranny of Sparta, and the aristocratical faction.

Among the Theban fugitives that had taken refuge in Athens during the late tyrannical proceedings of Sparta, was Pelopidas, who possessed distinguished advantages.

His birth had been inferior to none; but his private fortune was superior to all; and in the manly exercises which the Greeks so much esteemed, he excelled every one. His attachment to democracy was hereditary; and before the late melancholy revolution in the state, he was considered as the most proper person for administering the government. Pelopidas held many consultations with his fellow-sufferers at Athens, about the means of restoring the liberty of Thebes. He instanced the patriotic example of Thrasybulus, who had, with a handful of men, executed a similar but more difficult enter-

* About 2020 l. Sterling.

prize, to encourage his countrymen in the undertaking. Phyllidas, whose great activity, address, and courage, entitle him to the regard of history, was introduced into their nocturnal assemblies: he was highly respected by Leontidas, Archias, and the other magistrates, or rather tyrants of the republic; and he therefore made an entertainment, and invited those men to partake of it.

In the mean time Phyllidas, having made known his plan to the rest of the conspirators, they met at Thebes at the time appointed. The tyrants, however, having by some means been informed of the conspiracy that was meditated, summoned one of the principal persons of the plot to attend them, just as Pelopidas and others had put on their arms for the purpose. But the conspirator, whom the magistrates had ordered to wait on them, behaved with great intrepidity and dissimulation, and quieted the solicitude of the tyrants. In the midst of the banquet, however, a courier arrived from Athens with a letter for Archias, which revealed the whole conspiracy. The messenger informed Archias, that the person who gave him the letter desired he would read it immediately, as it contained business of importance. Archias took the letter, and replying with a smile, "serious business to-morrow," deposited it under his couch. Soon after, the conspirators entered dressed in female attire; and on a signal being given, they drew their daggers, and easily dispatched the intoxicated magistrates.

The whole city was soon in commotion; and the inhabitants, alarmed and terrified, waited impatiently for the morning, that they might discover the cause of this nocturnal tumult. During

ing a moment of dreadful suspense, a herald proclaimed the death of the tyrants, and invited to arms the friends of liberty and the republic. Epaminondas, who had not till then joined the conspirators, obeyed with many others the welcome invitation. This youth was possessed of the most illustrious merit: the wisdom of the sage and the magnanimity of the hero shone forth in his character, accompanied by every mild and gentle virtue. In knowledge and eloquence he surpassed all his contemporaries; and in birth, valour, and patriotism, he was not inferior to Pelopidas, with whom he had contracted an early friendship. The doctrines of the Pythagorean philosophy, which he had diligently studied, rendered him averse from embruing his hands in the blood of his fellow-citizens; but when matters were brought to their present crisis, he appeared a firm and strenuous advocate in the cause of liberty; and his example greatly animated the other brave and generous youths who disdained the yoke of tyranny.

Preparations were now making for an attack on the citadel, in which was the Lacedæmonian garrison, when several thousand men arrived from Athens, who had been sent to assist the Thebans in the meditated revolution. The arrival of those auxiliaries was very seasonable and acceptable, and excited the Thebans to attempt the citadel immediately. Pelopidas began the siege of the place, and the garrison, intimidated by the impetuosity and enthusiasm of the assailants, and the continual increase of their numbers, offered to capitulate, and requested that they might be allowed to depart in safety with their arms. This was accordingly granted, but

no stipulations were made on the part of those unfortunate Thebans, who, having taken refuge in the citadel, when the first alarm was excited in the city, fell a sacrifice to the resentment and inhumanity of their countrymen. A remnant only was saved by the humane interposition of the Athenians; and thus was the prediction of Epaminondas verified, who foretold that the revolution could not be accomplished without the effusion of civil blood.

The emancipation of Thebes from the yoke of Sparta, hurt the pride and the ambition of that republic. In order, however, to punish, what the Lacedæmonians were pleased to term, the unprovoked rebellion of their subjects, Cleombrotus, their king, was sent into Bœotia in the depth of winter, to recover, if possible, their usurped dominions. Agesilaus, whose ardent and aspiring mind had long directed the ambitious councils of Sparta, found, that though he enjoyed the glory, he could not avoid the odium, which his exalted station naturally occasioned; but that he might not increase the displeasure of the people, he permitted the inexperience of his colleague to conduct the plan of the Theban war. The severity of the season did not allow Cleombrotus to perform any other exploit, than the defeating a few straggling parties; but the presence of a Lacedæmonian army served to confirm the obedience of several inferior communities. Cleombrotus soon returned to Sparta, and left the prosecution of his designs to Sphodrias.

B. C. 378.

In the mean time the Athenians, apprehensive of being called to an account for the assistance they had given the Theban republic, had publicly

publicly disavowed what they had done. But Sphodrias, a bold, ambitious, and rash commander, was persuaded by the Theban chiefs to attack Piræus. Accordingly he marched with the flower of his army early in the morning, and expected to have reached Piræus before the dawn of day. He had not, however, proceeded further than the Thriasian plain before the day appeared. The inhabitants of Eleusis were alarmed at the approach of the Spartan army, and information of this event was immediately dispatched to Athens, whose citizens immediately flew to arms; and preparations were instantly made for a vigorous defence. This rash enterprize, and the still more imprudent conduct of Sphodrias, in ravaging the country during his retreat, justly incensed the Athenians against Sparta. They seized the persons of several Lacedæmonians that resided in the city, and committed them to prison. An embassy was then sent to Sparta, to complain of this infraction of the peace, and to represent, in the most indignant language, the insults and the injuries of Sphodrias. The Lacedæmonians disavowed the conduct of their commander, and recalled him to be tried for the action. Agesilaus, however, at the intercession of his son Archidamus, who greatly esteemed Cleonymus the son of Sphodrias, interceded for him with the Spartan assembly, and obtained his life.

But it is not improbable that Agesilaus was privy to the designs of the Lacedæmonian general, and that, though the Spartans refused to acknowledge the action, they would have instantly approved it, had the enterprize been crowned with success. In this light, at least, it

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appeared to the Athenians, who, offended at the conduct, were much more indignant at the acquittal of Sphodrias. They immediately renewed their alliance with Thebes, began to equip a fleet, to enlist seamen, and, in short, to make all the preparations in their power for prosecuting a vigorous war with the Spartan commonwealth.

In the mean time Agesilaus, with an army of eighteen thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, continued to invade and ravage the territories of Bœotia, but did no considerable exploits. Chabrias, the Athenian, who commanded the Theban troops, which had been lately reinforced with a considerable body of mercenary soldiers, repelled the Spartan king from Thebes, not by force, but by stratagem. The Theban army, though considerably augmented, was nevertheless far inferior to that of the enemy in point of numbers, and was therefore compelled to act upon the defensive. Chabrias had ordered his troops to occupy a rising ground in the neighbourhood of their city. The Spartan general sent a detachment from his army to induce them to quit the advantageous situation on which they were encamped; but the Thebans bravely maintained their position, and obliged Agesilaus to bring up his whole forces, that he might dislodge them. In this also the Spartan general was deceived. Chabrias commanded his troops to support their advanced bodies on his left knee, to extend their shields and spears, and firmly to maintain their ranks. This was a movement equally new and unexpected to Agesilaus, and which had been only lately taught the Thebans by Chabrias, that they might act

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on an emergency like the present. Alarmed at the boldness of this unusual array, the Spartan commander withdrew his forces from the capital, without attempting any thing more against the Theban troops in their present situation.

The Spartans now became every day less formidable to the Thebans, who were soon enabled to act offensively against the enemy. In the battle at Tanagra, Pelopidas slew the Lacedæmonian general who had succeeded Agesilaus in the command; and in the engagement near the city of Tegyra, the Spartan troops were routed and put to flight, though superior in number. This was a disgrace they had never before suffered, and such as they could not reflect on without sorrow. Whilst those hostilities were carried on by land, the Athenians had equipped a fleet, and entrusted the command of it to Chabrias. This able commander met the Lacedæmonian squadron near Naxos, and offering battle, an engagement ensued, in which the Spartan armament was shamefully defeated, and lost thirty-six gallies. This was the first time the Athenians had obtained a victory at sea, with their own ships, since the Peloponnesian war; but the principal scene of action was the Ionian sea, where Timotheus and Iphicrates were every where victorious against the commanders that opposed them. In consequence of those repeated defeats, the navy of Sparta was totally ruined, the coasts of Laconia were ravaged by the victors, and the isles of Corcyra, Zacynthus, Leucadia, and Cephalenia, suffered greatly. The more remote islands and cities acknowledged the power of the conquerors; and Chios and Byzantium deserting their

B.C. 376.

their involuntary connection with Sparta, once more concluded a treaty of alliance with the Athenian republic.

Whilst the Greeks were engaged in those destructive measures which, though they subdued not the spirit of the vanquished, tended equally to weaken the conquerors and the conquered, Artaxerxes endeavoured, by bribes and promises, to interrupt the hostilities of the Grecian states, and to promote among them universal tranquillity. The Persian monarch was induced to desire the reconciliation of the communities of Greece, that he might obtain their assistance against his rebellious subjects in Egypt. The republics of Sparta and Athens were now tired of the war: the former had every thing to lose, and the latter nothing to gain, by its continuance. The emissaries of Artaxerxes, therefore, found a very favourable reception in both these communities; and the resolutions of Sparta and Athens gave law to many of the other states of Greece. So uncertain and deplorable was the condition of the Greeks in general at that time, that about twenty thousand enlisted themselves under the standard of Persia. Iphicrates was appointed their commander; but that general, and the troops under his care, soon returned, disgusted with the ignorance, pride, and timidity of the Persians, and without performing any considerable enterprise.

In the mean time, the Thebans, elated by their prosperity, refused to obey the solicitations of Artaxerxes. Whilst, therefore, the troops of their enemies were engaged in the expedition against Egypt, they availed themselves of that opportunity to reduce several of the Bœotian cities

cities under their subjection. The walls of Thespia were levelled with the ground; and those of Platæa underwent the same fate. The inhabitants of this latter city were driven into banishment; but the Athenians, with whom they had taken refuge, warmly espoused their cause. The Thebans heard, however, with equal arrogance and contempt the remonstrances of friends and the threats of enemies. This affecting and inhuman transaction of the Thebans, together with their supercilious behaviour, wholly alienated the Athenians from them, and deprived them of an ally to whom they were indebted for the liberty and independence of their state. The republic of Athens, at this time, seemed desirous of promoting a lasting peace with Sparta, on the principles of the treaty of Antalcides; and the king of Persia, still finding it necessary to employ Greek auxiliaries in the war against Egypt, was induced to employ his good offices in effecting a general peace amongst the states of Greece. Accordingly, a convention of the Grecian communities was held, to which the Thebans sent Epaminondas as their representative.

Pelopidas, who had been the principal author of the glorious revolution that had raised Thebes to so lofty a pitch of greatness and prosperity, and who had commanded the armies in the military operations which immediately succeeded that great event, was considered as a youth of great patriotism and valour: he was nobly descended, and, using his riches generously, had obtained an ascendancy which was due to his great and illustrious services. The manly graces of his person, his amiable and winning deportment, and his skill in military exercises, to which the

PAGE NO-130 MISSING IN ORIGINAL

in acquiring knowledge, or in the exercise of public and private virtue. Unambitious of obtaining the dangerous honours of his country, his modesty seemed to avoid and refuse them. He would have been much better contented to have directed, by personal influence with the magistrates, the government of his country, from his beloved retirement; but the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens, and the present calamities, urged him to appear in a public capacity. Such, however, was his modesty, that had he lived in happier and less turbulent times, it is probable his virtues and excellent qualities, though admired by his select friends, would have remained unknown to posterity.

Such was the man to whom his fellow-citizens delegated the most important interests of Thebes, in the congress of the Grecian states. The differences of Sparta and Athens were soon adjusted, and, forgetting their ancient animosity, they were both incensed at the treatment of Thespia and Platæa. They lamented the wars that had raged between the two republics, and felt much satisfaction at the short but glorious interval of moderation and concord. They were now convinced, by fatal experience, that it was requisite to lay down their arms, and to promote harmony and tranquillity throughout all the states of Greece. The peace, however, they considered as not likely to be useful and permanent, unless founded on the principles of the treaty of Antalcidas, which ensured equality and freedom to the least and most insignificant, as well as to the most populous and powerful communities. It was therefore proposed, that the same contract, to which Athens and Sparta

and their respective confederates had formerly acceded, should be again revived, and made the basis of the present pacification.

Epaminondas then rose and observed, that the Athenians had signed the treaty for all Attica; and that the Spartans had signed not only for the cities of Laconia, but also for their several numerous allies in Peloponnesus. He therefore contended that Thebes ought also to sign for all the cities of Bœotia. To this demand Agesilaus only replied by asking, whether the Thebans intended to admit, in the terms of this treaty, the independence of Bœotia? Epaminondas then asked, whether the Spartans would acknowledge the independence of Laconia? Shall the Bœotians be free, or not? said the king. "Yes," replied Epaminondas, "when Sparta shall restore freedom and independence to the several cities of Laconia, of Messenia, and of the other Peloponnesian communities, that, under the specious name of allies, suffer the greatest oppressions."

Then addressing the deputies of the other states, he told them, that, instead of being called on to ratify a peace which should establish them in their several rights, the treaty annulled their freedom and independence, and confirmed the dictates of a stern and severe master. Thebes was to be deprived of the territory she had acquired, while Sparta was permitted to hold in subjection the several confederates with whom she was allied, and in whose name she had signed the contract, and whose assistance she could at all times exact. But if the allies persisted in their resolution; if they determined to destroy the strength of Thebes, which only could defend

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and protect them against the powerful oppression of Sparta; they consented to continue those heavy pecuniary contributions so long exacted from them, and to obey every summons to war, of which they endured the fatigues and dangers, while the Spartans obtained all the advantage and honour. If, therefore, they still revered the glorious names of their ancestors; if they were disposed to promote their own interests and the interests of Greece; they would be so far from wishing or attempting the reduction of Thebes, that they would imitate her example, and, shaking off the galling yoke of tyranny and oppression, bid defiance to all those who endeavoured to abridge or destroy the liberties of man.

The speech of Epaminondas was listened to with great attention, and the deputies seemed to be strongly affected by the just and powerful remonstrances contained in it. Agesilaus, alarmed for the dignity and interests of Sparta, rose up, and answered the Theban in a manner very different from that despotic brevity which the Lacedæmonians generally used. On this occasion it was wittily remarked, that Epaminondas had compelled the Spartans to lengthen their monosyllables. Agesilaus made use of every argument likely to have any effect on the deputies, and threatened them with the vengeance of Sparta in case they refused to comply. They were thus awed into submission, not so much, perhaps, by the force of his eloquence, as by the terror of the Spartan armies ready to take the field: they, however, remembered the words of Epaminondas, and when they returned to their several communities, communicated his sentiments to their fellow-citizens.

In this important transaction, Epaminondas acted, undoubtedly, according as the Thebans had previously determined; for before he set out for this congress he was instructed to refuse acknowledging the freedom and independence of the several parts of Bœotia. This refusal excluded the Theban republic from participating in the advantages of the treaty, and exposed it to the immediate vengeance of the whole confederacy. If we consider this action of the Thebans as imprudent and impolitic, at the same time we must acknowledge that they acted on the broad principles of civil liberty, and only objected to acknowledge the several lesser communities of Bœotia as free and independent states, because the Spartans would not grant the same privileges to the cities in Laconia, and to the other republics of Peloponnesus. Epaminondas was sensible, that though Thebes would be unable to resist the force of the whole confederacy of Greece, which, according to the treaty signed by the several deputies, might now be brought against his country, the jealousy and faction of the communities would not permit them to act in concert; and that Sparta would ultimately be obliged to carry on the war at her own expence. He saw the effect which his spirited remonstrance had produced in the minds of those who were the most steady friends and adherents of that republic; and when he contemplated the circumstances of Thebes and of Sparta, he thought there was reason to conclude that the contest would not be so unequal as might at first be supposed.

Lycurgus had given a consistent plan of legislation to Sparta, which they must either

wholly observe, or altogether neglect. So long as the Spartans were submissive to the institutions of that extraordinary lawgiver, and were satisfied with the simplicity of manners, the poverty and virtues which he had recommended and enforced, they continued a great and flourishing people. Whilst they had no other object in view than to resist the solicitations of pleasure, and repel the encroachments of enemies; while they were hindered from any commercial intercourse with foreign nations, and excluded strangers from becoming citizens of their community; they adhered to the peculiar genuine spirit of the Lacedæmonian constitution.

But no sooner did Sparta abandon the simple maxims of her legislator, and become ambitious, wealthy, triumphant, and engaged in almost continued wars, not as the means of defending her possessions, but to extend and confirm her foreign conquests and dominion, she had no right to expect those honours to which she exclusively pretended. It would have been a wise, and enlightened system of policy, when Sparta departed from the institutions of Lycurgus, and had relinquished all virtuous preeminence, to have admitted the warlike inhabitants of Peloponnesus to the rank of citizens of the republic. This would have interested them in the victories, and made them willing partakers of the dangers of the state: but, instead of acting on this liberal plan of policy, Sparta increased her pretensions, in proportion as her merit and virtues became diminished. The equality of a fœderal union was spurned with contempt; the Lacedæmonians were deprived of all share in the government; and the whole power and authority of

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the state was confined to the senate and assembly of Sparta. A long course of hostilities had weakened and destroyed the energies and vigour of the republic; and not more than four thousand warriors were left to maintain and defend the Spartan empire, the splendour of which was greatly diminished; and their insulted and oppressed allies yielded an unwilling assistance.

On the other hand, the Thebans had been long considered as a race of men unworthy of the Grecian name and character, and incapable of attempting any great and noble enterprise. Their sluggishness and stupidity had become proverbial; and having joined the Persian monarch in his invasion of Greece, they had become infamous among their countrymen. It is very probable, that the oppressive conduct of Sparta first roused them from that languor and inactivity for which they had been so remarkable: having experienced the yoke of their oppressors, they became more sensible of the value of liberty, and were determined to maintain and assert their independence on every occasion, and at the hazard of their lives. They had undertaken and carried on a defensive kind of warfare, in which success had crowned their attempts; and they had gained many considerable trophies from their enemies, who had long despised them. Emboldened by the success with which their first enterprise had been attended, they became ambitious of war and victory, and their national character was thereby elevated above its ordinary standard. A severe system of military discipline had been introduced in the Theban army: their cavalry had been considerably improved in arms and exercise; and diffe-

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rent modes of contending with the enemy had been adopted. A number of their citizens had united themselves together in the closest manner, and by the most solemn ties. Emulation, ardour, mutual esteem, and a spirit of combination, which frequently prevails in times of turbulence, had inspired them with the glorious resolution of dying in the defence of each other. This association originally consisted of about three hundred Thebans, whose valour and fidelity had been experienced, and of whom Pelopidas, the restorer and defender of the freedom of his country, was entrusted with the command. The great friendship that subsisted among this select body of Thebans occasioned their being called the Sacred Band. For a long succession of years, and amidst innumerable engagements, they were always victorious, wherever and against whomsoever they fought: but, at length, they fell, with the freedom of Thebes, of Athens, and of Greece, in the fatal and ever-memorable field of Cheronæa. Such were the circumstances of those two rival republics, when they were about to engage in hostilities against each other.

Several months elapsed after the congress held at Sparta, before Agesilaus and his son Archidamus had collected the strength of Lacedæmon, and the forces of their tardy allies. The old king found himself unfit to take the field in person; but he prevailed on the ephori and senate to give the command of the army to his colleague Cleombrotus. He was, therefore, ordered to march without delay into Bœotia, and to invade the hostile territory. They promised to send him more powerful reinforcements, and,

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for that purpose, appointed the plain of Leuctra, which surrounded an obscure and inconsiderable village of that name, and was situated on the frontier of Bœotia, about ten miles from the sea and from Platæa. The plain was surrounded on all sides by the lofty ridges of Helicon, Citheron, and Cynocephalæ.

Having dispersed a few detachments of Thebans, that guarded the defiles of mount Helicon, the Spartans and their confederates joined forces in this neighbourhood. The Peloponnesian army amounted to twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; whilst the troops of the Thebans, that had been dispersed over all the frontier, in order to oppose the desultory attacks of the enemy's cavalry, scarcely amounted to half that number. The Theban horse, however, were nearly as numerous as those of the Spartans, and far excelled them in discipline and valour. The Thebans were then exhorted by Epaminondas, to march from their city, that they might hinder the defection of their Bœotian allies, and prevent the enemy from besieging them in Thebes. Accordingly they set forward, and proceeding to the neighbouring mountains encamped, and obtained a full view of the Spartans in the plain.

Both armies prepared to engage, but the Thebans, when they considered the great superiority of the enemy in point of numbers, were seized with a general terror and consternation. Epaminondas could scarcely remove the panic of the troops, which was still more increased by many sinister omens and prodigies, that were said to have been observed. The Theban general, however, told them, that no signs were necessary

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cessary to indicate the will of the gods, since those, who were employed in the pious duty of defending their country, were engaged in a work that could not fail of being peculiarly agreeable to heaven.

In order that he might display his confidence of success, and thereby animate the spirits of his troops, he commanded all those, who either disapproved of the cause in which they were engaged, or were averse from sharing the dangers of the battle, to retire from the field. The Thespians, and the unwarlike crowd of attendants, whose services were not only useless but troublesome in time of action, thought proper to embrace this permission.

The two armies now drew up in order of battle. Cleombrotus disposed his forces in the form of a crescent, which was an ancient and favourite practice of the Spartans. The general himself was on the right, which consisted entirely of Lacedæmonians, in whom he placed the greatest confidence for the success of the engagement, and whose files were twelve deep. Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, headed the allies, who formed the left wing. The Theban commander, perceiving the disposition of the enemy, was sensible, that the fate of the battle would principally depend on the Spartans. He therefore determined to strengthen his left, that he might charge the right wing of the enemy with greater vigour and impetuosity.

Epaminondas, having resolved on his plan of attack, placed the choice of his heavy-armed men, whom he drew up fifty deep, in the left division of his forces. His cavalry were stationed in the van, that they might oppose the enemy's

my's horse, whom they far excelled in discipline and experience. Pelopidas, with the sacred band, was on the left, and flanked the whole. Not deeming any particular station worthy of their prowess, they were prepared to act wherever an opportunity offered itself, or an emergency seemed to demand their assistance.

The cavalry of the two hostile armies commenced the action. The Spartan horses, having been principally employed for pleasure, by the richer citizens in time of peace, were a very unequal match for the disciplined and vigorous Thebans. Their ranks were, therefore, speedily broken, and thrown into confusion, and they were compelled to fall back on the foot. The sacred band seized the opportunity of taking advantage of the disorder, which their repulse and rout had occasioned in the army of the Lacedæmonians. Epaminondas contrived and executed one of those rapid evolutions, which not unfrequently decides the fate of a battle. He formed some of his strongest, but least numerous forces, into a compact wedge, that had a sharp front, and a spreading flank. He expected that the Lacedæmonians, as soon as they had recovered their ranks would attack the more extended and weakest part of his army, which on account of the arrangement that had been necessary to form, seemed rather prepared to retreat, than to withstand an attack.

Nor was the Theban general deceived in the expectations he had formed. The Lacedæmonians pressed forward against the right wing of the enemy, where little or no resistance was experienced. In the mean time, he urged his left forward with great impetuosity, and assailing

ing the flank of the Spartans, obliged them to give away. Epaminondas and his troops soon arrived at the post of Cleombrotus. The Lacedæmonians perceiving their king in danger, the degenerate disciples of Lycurgus were recalled to their ancient principles. The bravest and most vigorous of the Spartans hastened from every part of the army to defend the person of their prince, and to cover him with their shields. For some time the impetuosity of the Spartans bore all before them, and the Thebans were repelled in turn; but the Spartan horsemen, who formed the body-guard of the king, being at length cut off, Cleombrotus fell on his breathless or expiring defenders, pierced with many wounds.

The death of the chief added fury to the battle. Then it was, that anger, resentment, and despair agitated by turns the breasts of the Spartans. According to the superstitious ideas which then prevailed, the death of the king was considered as a slight misfortune, when compared with the disgraceful impiety of permitting his body to be mangled and disfigured by the enemy. Every exertion was therefore used to prevent this abomination, and they succeeded in their endeavours; but they could achieve nothing more. Epaminondas was careful to fortify the ranks of his army, and to maintain that order which was necessary for ensuring success. He gained a complete victory over the Spartans, who betaking themselves to flight, were pursued by the Thebans, and great numbers of them slain. The principal strength of the allies, had, during the greatest part of the battle, remained inactive; but when they understood that the Spartan king was slain, their wavering irresolution

tion was decided, and they retreated, with the rest of the army. Epaminondas did not pursue
B. C. 370. the fugitives to their camp, which was strongly fortified, and could not be taken without great loss; but having buried the dead, he erected a trophy on the field of battle. When the Spartans were out of the reach of danger, and had time to reflect on the extent of their misfortunes, they were actuated by shame, grief, and despair, and became sensible that, on no former occasion, the interests of their republic had suffered so severe a wound. Never before in any engagement had they lost more than four or five hundred citizens; but in this battle, of seven hundred Spartans who had fought, four hundred were slain. The Lacedæmonians lost one thousand, and the allies two thousand six hundred men; whilst the Thebans had only three hundred men killed, amongst whom were only four of their citizens.

Many of the Spartans were for renewing the engagement, and endeavouring to recover their dead by force of arms; but the impracticability of the measure being proved to them by their commanders, they were obliged to yield to necessity. Accordingly a Spartan herald was sent to crave the bodies of their dead, and to acknowledge the victory of the Thebans.

The news of this defeat arrived at Sparta at the time that republic was celebrating the gymnastic and musical entertainments. The messenger being brought before the ephori, informed them of the great public disaster. The magistrates, however, ordered the festival to proceed; and having made out a list of the warriors slain in the field of Leuctra, sent notice to their several

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ral families, and enjoined the women to abstain from unavailing lamentations. The day following, the fathers and relations of those who had been slain in the battle, appeared dressed in their gayest attire, and congratulated one another on the bravery and glorious death of their brethren or children; but the relatives of those who had survived the fatal engagement, staid at home, or if they ventured abroad, discovered symptoms of anguish and despair, and expected that their kinsmen would be sentenced to perpetual banishment, or excluded from the public assemblies, from every office of power or honour, from the protection of the laws, and almost from the society of men. This punishment was agreeable to the institutions of Lycurgus, which directed, that it should be inflicted on all, who lost their defensive armour, or fled in the day of battle; but on this critical emergency, the severity of this law was mitigated, by observing, that the sacred institutions of Lycurgus had slept during one unfortunate day, but that henceforth their wonted vigour and activity should be resumed.

No sooner was the intelligence of the battle of Leuctra diffused over Greece, than the whole Peloponnesus was in commotion. The Eleans, Arcadians, and Argives, with the other Grecian communities, which Sparta had either influenced by her councils, or intimidated by her power, openly aimed at independence. The inferior republics expected to be freed from the heavy contributions with which they had hitherto been burthened, and that they should not be compelled to go to war on every trivial occasion. Whilst the more populous and powerful states breathed

breathed nothing but hatred and revenge, and gloried in the prospect of being able to humble the proud and insolent senators of Sparta.

The republic of Athens, however, acted a very different part. Immediately after the engagement at Leuctra, the Thebans had dispatched a messenger, adorned with the emblems of peace and victory, to inform the Athenians of the particulars of the battle, and to invite them to enter into an offensive alliance against Sparta; but Timotheus and Iphicrates, who at that time presided over the Athenian assembly, determined to humble, not to destroy their inveterate enemy. Athens had also become jealous of the power of Thebes, and was, therefore, still more unwilling to act against Sparta. The Theban herald was therefore allowed to return home, without receiving the smallest satisfaction on the subject of his mission; and Athens was soon sensible, that the battle at Leuctra had given her the superiority over all Greece.

The Thebans finding themselves disappointed of the assistance of the Athenian republic, endeavoured to obtain an alliance not less powerful. The extensive and fertile territory of Thessaly, which had been so long disunited, came under the government of Jason of Pheræ, a man of great abilities and enterprising ambition. With indefatigable labour and invincible courage, Jason possessed a mind capable of conceiving great designs, and a character ready to promote them by the meanest artifices. By stratagem, by surprise, or by force, he had extended his dominion over the greatest part of Thessaly. He had exercised his troops with such severe discipline, and made use of such a judicious plan

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of military administration, that his soldiers became inured to their duty and attached to their general, whom they would follow wherever he chose to lead them. His army, amounted to eight thousand horse, twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, and such a body of targeteers as could scarcely be equalled.

The Thebans invited Jason to unite the arms of the Thessalians with theirs, which he accordingly did. He joined the army of Thebes soon after the battle at Leuctra, when Epaminondas, was making preparations to attack the enemy a second time. Jason, however, exhorted the Thebans to rest satisfied with the advantages already obtained, and not to drive the Spartans to despair; and they ought, he said, to remember the vicissitudes of war. His arguments were also directed to the Lacedæmonians; and his eloquence and address so far prevailed, that a truce was agreed on between the two hostile armies. The Spartans and their allies, however, had so little confidence in this negociation, that they marched the same night over mount Cithæron, and returned to Laconia, where Archidamus dismissed the confederate troops, and with the poor remains of his army arrived at Sparta.

It is probable, that Jason had not more confidence in a treaty thus hastily concluded between two rival republics, one of which had suffered a greater defeat, than she had ever before experienced, and the other had become acquainted with her own strength and ability, and entertained ambitious and aspiring designs. But Jason aimed at the subjugation, or at least, the command of the Grecian republics, by which he would be enabled, as he declared that he ex-

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pected, to imitate the glorious example of Cyrus and Agesilaus, and to effect, by the united strength of Greece, what they had nearly accomplished by a body of ten thousand men. He was, therefore, not very desirous, that Thebes should become so powerful and formidable a republic, even at the expense of Sparta; but he wished to be considered in the light of a pacificator, by which means his designs on Greece would be greatly forwarded. In the midst, however, of these ambitious and lofty projects, Jason was stabbed by seven youths, who approached him whilst reviewing the Pheræan cavalry, under pretence that they came to demand justice at his hands against each other. The guards of Jason dispatched two of the assassins, but the other five, mounting horses that had been prepared for them, escaped to the Grecian republics, and were received with acclamations of joy by the people, who considered them as the liberators of their country from the formidable power of a brave but ambitious tyrant.

The death of Jason removed from Greece, for a time, the terror which the ambitious views of the tyrant had occasioned. But when the Greeks seemed to owe their safety and independence to the arm of an assassin, their situation was become very unstable and precarious; and though the projects of Jason perished with him, his designs announced the downfal of Grecian freedom.

The battle of Leuctra was, in its consequences, doubly prejudicial to the Spartan commonwealth; it weakened the confederacy of the states with whom they were in alliance, and strengthened the power of the enemy. In the subsequent

subsequent period of two years most of the Spartan allies in Peloponnesus had shaken off the yoke and united themselves to other states. Whilst, on the contrary, the favour of Thebes was sought by most of the communities in Peloponnesus; and in the north of Greece, the Acarnanians, Locrians, Phocians, the whole breadth of the continent between the Ionian and Ægean seas, and the isle of Eubæa, increased the power, and extended the dominion of Thebes. Factions prevailed in every republic of Greece; and the aristocratical party was almost universally expelled and banished every state and every city. Fourteen hundred inhabitants were driven from Tegæa; and in Argos, two thousand of the aristocratical faction were slain. The Mantinæans alone seemed to have acted with prudence; they embraced this opportunity of rebuilding the walls and fortifications of their city, made the form of their government democratical, and determined to preserve the strength of their city, which appeared so necessary for maintaining their political independence.

Thebes and Sparta did not interfere in any of those internal commotions; the former was too busily employed in the northern parts of Greece, intending to invade and ravage Laconia; and the latter was so much humbled by the unfortunate battle at Leuctra, that they contented themselves with preparing to defend the banks of the Eurotas, and to repel the threatened assault of their capital. All the forces, however, which they could possibly raise, were commanded to take the field, and they were on the point of giving arms to the Helotes, as their last

resource; when the fugitives from Argolis, Achaia, and Arcadia, arrived and offered their services to the most ancient and distinguished patrons of their political principles. Thus encouraged and reinforced, the Spartans bid defiance to the threats of invasion, and endeavoured to recover their lost dominion in Arcadia. A detachment of troops, therefore, marched into the territory of that state, but the Spartan general performed nothing decisive against the enemy. He contented himself with ravaging the villages and fields of that delightful country, in which he met with no resistance from the enemy, who waited for a reinforcement from the Thebans, before they would commence an engagement.

At length the Thebans took the field, with an army more numerous than had ever before assembled in Greece under one standard, and which amounted to fifty, or as some say to seventy thousand men. These forces were composed of the warlike youth of Bœotia, of the Acarnanians, Phocians, Locrians, and Eubæans, together with a promiscuous crowd of needy followers, whom the prospect of plunder had allured to the Theban camp. They had no sooner arrived on the frontier of Arcadia, than they were joined by the inhabitants of that country, and by the Eleans and Argives. Pelopidas and Epaminondas commanded the Thebans. Agesilaus informed of the march of so powerful an army, conducted by generals of so great merit and abilities, prepared to return to Sparta before his soldiers had seen the fires kindled in the hostile camp, and thereby avoided the disgrace of retreating

retreating before the enemy. He, therefore led his forces to defend their own country, which was now threatened with an invasion.

The Theban generals finding the Arcadians freed from the terror and injuries of the despoiling invaders, held a council of war, in which it was finally resolved, that the army should march without delay, and entering the Lacedæmonian territories, lay waste the country, and endeavour to obtain possession of the capital. Accordingly, to facilitate this enterprize, the troops were formed in four divisions, and appointed to break into the province by different routes. All these, except the Arcadians, who formed the fourth division, penetrated without meeting any opposition. Ischilas, however, who guarded the district of Seiritis, resolved to repel the invasion of the Arcadians, or to perish in the attempt. The example of Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, animated the breast of this valiant Spartan. He gave command to the youth to quit the army, as he considered their lives too precious to be risked in an engagement, of which death could not fail of being the consequence. With the veteran soldiers of his army, he embraced the present opportunity of displaying his courage and patriotism. They sold their lives dearly to the enemy, many of whom perished in the contest; nor did the engagement terminate until the last Spartan was slain.

The confederate army having assembled at an appointed place of rendezvous marched towards Sparta, and laid waste the whole country. For five hundred years, Laconia had not experienced a similar calamity; and it had been the boast of Agesilaus, that no Spertan woman ever

saw the smoke of an enemy's camp. The guards that defended the city were thrown into consternation and dismay: the women were terrified with the smoke and tumult of the invading army; and the Spartans in this emergency were obliged to arm all their peasants and slaves whom they usually treated with great cruelty. Six thousand of these unhappy men were engaged by threats and promises, to undertake the defence of their proud and inhuman masters. This measure, however, did not abate, but increase the general panic of the magistrates and citizens. They considered, that the men they had just armed, might probably join the enemy, and the destruction of the city thereby become inevitable. But a body of Corinthians, Phliasians, Epidaurians, and Pallenians arriving soon after, to prevent the downfall of Sparta, though they had often opposed its despotism, the consternation in the city subsided.

These succours being received in Sparta, the people became elated, and the kings and magistrates could scarcely restrain them from rushing into the field, and giving the enemy battle. Agesilaus made use of this martial enthusiasm to repel the first assault of the Thebans, and to convince them, that every succeeding attempt to make themselves masters of the city, would be attended with such danger, fatigue, and loss of men, as the success of the enterprize could not compensate. The conduct of Agesilaus on this trying occasion, has been greatly and justly extolled: he placed an ambush in the temple of the Tyndaridæ, and, by those means defeated the intentions of the assailants. An insurrection of a very dangerous nature having appeared in the

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city he displayed great presence of mind in appeasing it; and while he thus overcame by force or stratagem the domestic and foreign enemies of the state, he negociated the most powerful assistance from Athens, which sent twelve thousand men to the relief of the Spartan territory.

In the mean time, Epaminondas having been repulsed from the capital, began to commit great and dreadful depredations in Laconia. He traversed and desolated the banks of the Eurotas, which abounded in all the conveniences of life; and then assaulted Helos and Gythium, and destroyed the villages by fire, and the inhabitants by the sword.

When Sparta had become the general arbiter of Greece, after the downfall of the Athenian greatness, the Messenians, whom the Athenians had settled in the territory of Naupactus, were the first that suffered under the oppressive conduct of that state, and were universally enslaved, banished, or put to death. Many of those unhappy men now flocked to the standard of Epaminondas, eager to retaliate the unrelenting persecution of a people suffering calamities equal to those they had so often inflicted on others.

Epaminondas rebuilt the city of Messene, and put the fugitives in possession of their territory. This act of the Theban general, which was not performed from any disinterested or generous motives though at first view it might have that appearance, inflicted the most severe and cruel punishment on the Spartans. They beheld a nation which they had twice endeavoured to extirpate, revive and flourish in their neighbourhood. The discontented and factious subjects, and the slaves of Sparta increased it by con-

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tinual occasions; and the Theban garrison, together with their own personal enmity, induced the Messenians to watch every favourable opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on the enemy.

This enterprize was scarcely finished, when Epaminondas was informed, that the Athenians under the command of Iphicrates were in motion. The design in which they were embarked, seemed to demand great celerity. Instead however, of using expedition, the Athenian commander wasted several days at Corinth without any apparent necessity, or even pretence for such an unseasonable and imprudent delay. His soldiers loudly complained of this conduct, and demanded to be led against Argos, or rather to attack the Theban army. Iphicrates however, did not think proper to comply with either of these requests, but marching into Arcadia, remained there until the enemy had withdrawn their troops out of Laconia.

The Thebans having evacuated the Lacedæmonian territory, the two hostile armies filed off, as by mutual consent, and returned to their respective cities by separate roads, without once endeavouring to interrupt the progress of each other. The Athenians blamed Iphicrates for permitting an enemy laden with plunder, and fatigued with the toil of a winter's campaign, to pass through the isthmus of Corinth; while Pelopidas and Epaminondas having exceeded the term of their command, were accused and tried by the Theban assembly. The former displayed less courage than might have been expected from his general character; but Epaminondas evinced the superiority of a philosophical mind,

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and instead of defending his cause, pronounced a panegyric on his conduct, in which he recounted without amplification, or diminution, the exploits he had performed. He concluded his speech by observing, that, "secure as he was of immortal fame, earned in the service of his country, he could submit to suffer death without reluctance." This magnanimity awed his accusers. The indignation of the assembly subsided; the two generals were instantly acquitted, and the accusation of Epaminondas procured him as much glory as the battle of Leuctra.

The Lacedæmonians soon after dispatched an embassy to Athens, requesting that the bands of amity and union, between the two republics, might be strengthened, and the Athenians still continue their assistance. The Spartans acknowledged that the experience, the bravery and the signal victories, which that republic had achieved in naval engagements, justly entitled her to the dominion of the sea; finding, however, that this concession did not produce the desired effect, they proposed, that, when the two republics united their forces in any expedition, the army of the Lacedæmonians (a thing hitherto unexampled) should be entrusted, during half of the campaign, to the command of Athenian generals. This proposal was agreed to, and an alliance of the most intimate kind concluded between Sparta and Athens.

They also succeeded in procuring assistance from Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, and from the Persian monarch. The former being of Dorian extraction, naturally commiserated the humiliation and distress of a people, who had so long been the friends and ornament of the Do-

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rian race. And the latter acted upon the principles of assisting the weaker party, that he might with greater ease rule the whole.

Whilst the Lacedæmonians were gaining strength by these important alliances, the Arcadians had commenced hostilities, and laying waste the territory of Pallene, that had ever been faithful to Sparta, burnt the villages, stormed the city, and put the garrison which consisted partly of Lacedæmonians to the sword. The Theban general, also marched his army southward, but the Lacedæmonians having obtained reinforcements from Dionysius and the Athenians, endeavoured to stop his progress through the isthmus, by fortifying it. Epaminondas, however, broke through, took Sicyon, and assaulted Corinth; but Chabrias the Athenian general, who happened at this time to be possessed of the alternate command, attacked the Thebans, and repulsed them with great loss. Epaminondas therefore, returned home, where he was blamed and disgraced for his conduct.

The Thebans being compelled to retreat, conferred splendour on the Arcadian arms, and inspired Lycomedes their general with ambitious designs, which he communicated to his countrymen. The Arcadians, he said, were the most ancient, the most populous, and certainly not the least warlike of the Peloponnesian states. They had joined in the twenty-seven years war against Athens; and to them it was owing, that the Lacedæmonians had been raised to so great power, the abuse of which all Greece had experienced. Of late years they had acted in conjunction with the Thebans, and by their assistance chiefly it was, that the people had obtain-
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ed an alarming degree of authority, which they exerted solely with a view to their own advantage, without regarding the interests of their allies. The Arcadians ought to consider, whether the yoke of Thebes might not in time become as intolerable as that of Sparta had been formerly. Their honour and their interest demanded that they should not acknowledge any superior, but vindicate the liberty and independence of their state. This speech which was highly applauded, induced the Arcadians to possess themselves of all the places they had taken from the enemy, and to complete their conquests in Peloponnesus.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians under the command of Archidamus had taken the field. The rapidity of success that attended this general, who was the son of the renowned Agesilaus, confirmed the prudence and foresight of the magistrates and people, in electing him commander of the army. He had regained many of the towns in Laconia, and having entered Arcadia laid it waste, and prepared to attack the populous city of Parrhasia. But the Arcadians reinforced by the Argives, making their appearance, he withdrew his troops towards the obscure village of Midea. When the Lacedæmonian general beheld the enemy prepared for an engagement, he commanded the Spartans to form in order of battle, and exhorted them to strive by one glorious effort, to regain their ancient and hereditary renown.

Whilst he thus spake, it thundered on the right, though the air was clear and serene: the soldiers looked from whence the noise came, and beheld in a consecrated grove an altar and

statute

statue of Hercules, the great progenitor of Archidamus and of Sparta. The soldiers hailed the happy omens, and animated by these concurring circumstances, were transported with an enthusiasm of valour, and attacked the enemy with great impetuosity. The Arcadians, who expected that they had to contend with a vanquished and spiritless adversary, were astonished at their manner of making the assault. Few of the Arcadians waited to receive the attack, but they who did, were totally destroyed. The rest took to flight, but in the pursuit many thousands of them perished; whilst the Spartans, it is said, did not lose a man. Archidamus sent a messenger to Sparta with the news of the battle, and erected his trophy. An assembly of the people was held, when he made known the intelligence. The aged Agesilaus wept for joy at the tidings; the sympathetic emotions were communicated to the ephori and senators, the amiable contagion was spread throughout all Sparta; and dissolved the sternest of the people into softness and sensibility.—B. C. 367.

CHAP. XIV.

Affairs of Greece from the Battle of Midea, to the Conclusion of the Social War.

AFTER the daring murder of Jason, the tyrant* of Thessaly, his brothers Polydore and Polyphron succeeded to the throne. The latter, am-

* The word tyrant, in Grecian history, is applied to those who acquired sovereignty in states formerly republican. Thessaly, Sicily, Corinth, &c. were governed not by kings, but tyrants. Whereas Macedonia, that had never been subject to any popular form of government, was ruled not by tyrants, but kings.

bitious of reigning singly, and not able to endure a rival, assassinated his colleague, and obtained the sole dominion of Thessaly. His stern despotism, however, was abolished by the hand of Alexander, who avenged the blood of his kinsman Polydore. This is said to have been the only meritorious action of his life; for authors represent Alexander, as one of the most cruel and detested tyrants that have ever been condemned to the infamy of history. He treated his subjects with the greatest inhumanity, was perfidious to his allies, implacable to his enemies, a robber by land, and a pirate at sea. Having by his cruelties, provoked the indignation and vengeance of his subjects, they took up arms, and solicited the assistance of Thebes. Accordingly, a Theban army marched into Thessaly under the command of Pelopidas and Ismenias, who compelled the tyrant to submit his cause to their determination, and to agree to whatever conditions they might think proper to exact for the future security of his subjects.

This transaction was scarcely finished, when the Thebans were invited into Macedonia, to settle some differences that had arisen in that kingdom. After the death of Amyntas the second, his son Alexander succeeded to the throne. Amyntas had left two other legitimate sons, Perdiccas, and Philip, and a natural son named Ptolemy. Though Ptolemy could not prevent the accession of Alexander to the throne, he embittered and shortened his reign, which lasted only one year. Ptolemy then took upon himself the guardianship of Perdiccas, during his minority, and assumed the reins of government, as protector of Macedon. It soon, how-

ever, appeared, that he was not satisfied with the power of regent: He contrived to win over great numbers to his interest, and baffling the opposition of the friends of Perdiccas, usurped the sovereignty. In this emergency, the partisans of the unfortunate prince requested the interference of Thebes. Pelopidas, therefore, marched an army into Macedonia, released the numerous exiles whom Ptolemy had driven into banishment; asserted the just rights of Perdiccas; and having received hostages from the contending factions, and restored the tranquillity of the kingdom, he returned towards Thessaly.

B. C. 367. Whilst Pelopidas marched through Thessaly, without using sufficient caution, having sent before him a considerable detachment of his army to guard the Macedonian hostages, he was informed that Alexander had come to meet him with his mercenary troops. This suspicious circumstance did not undeceive the too credulous Theban; who imputed the march of Alexander's soldiers to the respect that he desired to shew him. With great imprudence, therefore, Pelopidas and Ismenias put themselves into the power of a man, who regarded no laws, human or divine. He commanded them to be siezed, bound, and carried to Pheræ, where they were imprisoned and exposed to the view of an invidious and insulting multitude.

When the Theban chief was seized by the treachery of Alexander, it might have been expected, that the soldiers, animated with indignation and rage, would have attempted his rescue. Their numbers, however, were too small to hope for success. Reinforcements soon arrived from

Bœotia

Bœotia, but they fatally experienced, in the rencounters that took place, the absence of Pelopidas, and the degradation of Epaminondas. The army was reduced to very great difficulties, unable to fight the enemy, and unwilling to fly from them. The soldiers rembering their exploits in Peloponnesus, and the still more formidable hostile army over which they had obtained victory, justly blamed the inexperience and inability of their commanders. Epaminondas, at this time, served as a private soldier; but he was appointed general, by the unanimous consent of the troops. The face of affairs was soon changed, by the abilities of this extraordinary man; and the forces of the tyrant were defeated, and compelled to retire. The Theban general, however, afraid of the lives of Pelopidas and Ismenias, would not drive him to extremities. He hovered about him with his victorious army and displayed the superiority of military skill and conduct; and whilst he endeavoured to intimidate the tyrant, left him sufficient time for repentance and submission. This judicious plan succeeded according to his wishes; and Alexander was glad to accept of a truce for thirty days, on condition of restoring Pelopidas and Ismenias.

Whilst Pelopidas was detained in confinement at Pheræ, the daughter of Jason, whom Alexander had married, expressed a desire to see and converse with the Theban general, of whose merit and exploits so much had been said. The appearance, however, of Pelopidas did not answer the expectations of the Thessalian queen. When she beheld his neglected and squalid figure, she exclaimed, with emotions of pity and compassion, "How much do I lament, Pelopi-

das, for your wife and family." The Theban general replied, " You Thebe (for that was the queen's name,) are more to be lamented, who, though not a prisoner, continue the slave of a cruel and perfidious tyrant." These words are said to have made a great impression upon the queen, who recalled to mind the reproach of Pelopidas, when, ten years afterwards, she excited assassins to destroy Alexander.

Another anecdote is also related of the magnanimity of Pelopidas, during his confinement. It is said, that after he was kept a prisoner at Pheræ, the cruelties of Alexander towards the inhabitants of that city, were greater than they had formerly been. Pelopidas reproached the tyrant, with the absurdity of his conduct, in tormenting and destroying so many innocent and worthy citizens, and sparing him, who, Alexander was well aware, if ever he escaped out of his hands, would not fail to make him suffer that punishment, which his crimes deserved. To this intrepid declaration, the astonished tyrant replied, by asking, " Why is Pelopidas so desirous to die?" The Theban answered, " That you may the sooner perish, by rendering yourself still more obnoxious to gods and men."

Whilst Thebes employed her arms in the north, the Spartans had been enabled in some measure, to regain their influence in the south part of Greece. Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, had, as we mentioned before, obtained a very signal victory over the Arcadians, who were reckoned the most powerful and warlike of all the confederate states. The Lacedæmonians sent the crafty Antalcidas, and Euthycles, a Spartan of great abilities and intrigue, as ambassadors

bassadors to the court of Persia. Their object was, to hasten the supplies of troops and money, which Artaxerxes had promised. In the mean while, the Thebans understanding that Sparta had sent an embassy to the Persian monarch, thought it time to assert their independence, and to counteract the machinations and designs of their enemies with the court of Suza. Epaminondas whose recent conduct had gained him great reputation, and silenced the clamours of faction, was recommended again to the command of the army; and Pelopidas, whose unfortunate detention was ascribed more to the treacherous behaviour of Alexander, than to his own imprudence, was sent as minister to the east, to carry on negociations with Artaxerxes.

The confederates of Thebes, also, were invited to send deputies to the Persian court, to promote the interests of their respective states. This measure was readily adopted; and the Eleans, Arcadians and Argives, sent a deputation, in conjunction with the Theban ambassador. The Athenians, also, apprised of what was designed, dispatched ministers to manage the interests of their republic. By these means, a congress of the several Grecian states was held in Asia, where it was proposed to settle and adjust their differences at the court, and by the intervention of a foreign prince. When the crafty and intriguing Antalcidas arrived, the king treated him with great partiality and kindness, as an ancient and favourite guest; but when Pelopidas appeared at their public audience, the fame, the eloquence, and address of the Theban, procured him superior notice, and he was received by Ar-

taxerxes with the most manifest marks of honour and esteem.

Pelopidas represented, that in the battle of Platæa, fought almost a century ago, and ever since that memorable engagement, the Thebans had uniformly adhered to the interests of Persia, at the risk of losing every thing dear to them; and that the present war, in which their republic was engaged with Sparta, had been occasioned by their steady refusal to unite against Artaxerxes, in the measures that followed in Asia. The Spartans had, however, begun hostilities without provocation, and carried them on without success. He reminded the Persian monarch that the Thebans had obtained a recent and signal victory over their enemies at Leuctra, after which they had invaded Laconia. That the successful attempt of the Spartans against the Arcadians and Argives, was occasioned by Thebes being obliged to employ her troops in another expedition, equally important and honourable.

Timagoras, the Athenian deputy, for what reason is unknown, seconded, with vigour and address, the arguments of the illustrious Theban. In vain did Leon remonstrate against this treacherous conduct of his colleague. All the other deputies confounded by his impudence, were at a loss, for some time, to express their astonishment and indignation. Artaxerxes, however, owned himself convinced by the arguments of Pelopidas, and desired him to mention the conditions, on which he was sent to treat. The Theban replied, that the substance of his instructions was, that the liberties formerly granted to the several states and cities of Greece should be confirmed;

confirmed; that the fertile country of Messenia, in particular, should continue free and independent of the dominion of Sparta; that the Athenians should be commanded to lay up their fleet; and that the Thebans should be considered as the ancient and hereditary friends of the Persian monarch. The king greatly approved these proposals, which were immediately consigned to writing, confirmed by the royal assent, and read aloud to the ambassadors present. When Leon heard the clause, relative to Athens, he exclaimed with the freedom peculiar to his country, "the Athenians must then seek some other ally, instead of the Persian king." On this the ambassadors took their leave and departed.

Pelopidas was accompanied into Greece by a Persian of distinction, appointed by the king to carry the treaty into effect. When they arrived at Thebes, that republic sent orders to all the deputies of the other Grecian states, to give their attendance. Athens and Sparta, however, did not condescend to obey the summons; but the congress was, nevertheless, very numerous. The Persian produced the treaty, read it, and shewed the king's seal; and then demanded, in the name of his master, that the agreement should be ratified by the oaths usually administered on such occasions. The representatives almost unanimously declared, that they had no commands from their respective communities to sign and swear to this treaty; and that, before those articles could be ratified, it was necessary they should be discussed in the general assembly of each particular state. This was the answer universally given by the deputies.

Lycomedes

Lycomedes, however, the representative of Arcadia, carried the matter farther than his colleagues. Antiochus, his friend and countryman, who had lately acted in the capacity of ambassador to the court of Persia, on behalf of the Arcadians, had returned home extremely disgusted with the conduct of Artaxerxes, who hesitated not to prefer Elis to Arcadia. Whilst the Arcadian ambassador was giving an account to his constituents of the success of his mission, he indulged himself in many severe reflections on Artaxerxes and his subjects, which his hearers listened to with eagerness and pleasure. "The king's wealth and power were not so great in reality, as they seemed to be by the representations of flattery and falsehood: often had the golden plane-tree been ostentatiously described; but it scarcely afforded sufficient shade for a grashopper. He had carefully observed whatever appeared worthy of notice in Persia; and all he could find in that kingdom was the idle retinue of vice and luxury, bakers, butlers, and cooks, an insignificant and useless train: but men able to contend with the Greeks, he neither himself saw, nor did he believe that others could discover them." This speech produced great effect on the mind of Lycomedes when he went to assist at the general congress of the Grecian states. He therefore declared, that Arcadia needed not the alliance of Artaxerxes; and that Thebes was a very improper place to hold the convention, since a congress for a general peace ought to assemble in the country that had been the scene of warfare.

The magistrates of Thebes beheld, with disappointment and indignation, this conduct of their

their Arcadian friends and of the other states. They accused Lycomedes as a traitor to Thebes, and an enemy to the real interests of his country. He, however, deigned not an answer to these vain and empty clamours, but quitted the assembly, and was followed by the other deputies of Arcadia. The Corinthians, also, openly declared that they saw no occasion for entering into the treaty with Persia. The Thebans, therefore, were obliged to dissolve the assembly, without having obtained any thing favourable to their interests; but they attempted by private conferences to court some and awe others of the Grecian states to enter into their measures. This, however, had no other effect than to make the several communities of Greece resolve to oppose, by all the means in their power, the increasing authority of Thebes, and to defeat the views and designs of that ambitious republic.

Epaminondas advised his countrymen, to attempt by force of arms what they could not obtain by negotiation. The recent renown he had lately acquired in Thessaly, added to the fame of his former exploits, conduced to render his counsel popular and irresistible. The Thebans, therefore, entrusted him with the command of an army, with which he again marched into Peloponnesus, and invaded the country. He knew that the Elians and Arcadians, though hostile to each other, were alike disposed to rebel against Thebes. Instead, however, of entering their territories, and carrying the war against them, which might have compelled them to settle their differences amicably, and to unite under the Theban standard against the common enemy, Epaminondas endeavoured to quash their disaffection

affection by the conquest of Achaia, a province stretching along the Corinthian gulf, and skirting the northern frontiers of Elis and Arcadia. The nature of the Achæan government had been productive of peace and tranquillity to themselves and their neighbours: they possesed not any large and populous towns, whose inhabitants might be roused to arms and ambition, and the whole province thereby engaged in a destructive war. The cities of Phlius and Sicyon, which were situated towards the east and the isthmus of Corinth, had long been regarded as separate and independent republics of the Achæan nation.

Immediately before the Theban invasion, the constitution of Achaia had undergone a manifest change. Aristocracy had prevailed, and acquired an undue ascendancy. No sooner, therefore, was it announced, that Epaminondas with a Theban army had entered the frontiers of their territory, than the magistrates and principal persons flocked from all quarters of the province, to meet the invading troops. Not at all anxious about the liberty and independence of Achaia, provided they retained their personal privileges and private fortunes, they solicited by presents the favour and friendship of the Theban commander. The people, perceiving themselves abandoned and betrayed by those who ought to have been their guardians and protectors, gave up all thoughts of resisting the enemy. The submission of the magistrates was accepted by Epaminondas, who received from them pledges of their engagement, that thenceforth Achaia should be dependent on Thebes, and follow the fortunes of that republic both in peace and war.

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This conquest, which was effected without striking a blow, was productive of destructive and sanguinary consequences. Epaminondas returned with his army to Thebes, but the Arcadians and Argives had procured several complaints to be made against his conduct in the Theban assembly. Their recent experience, it was said, ought to have made them remember the inconveniencies attending an aristocratical form of government in a neighbouring and dependent state. These factious disturbances were secretly encouraged by the emissaries of democracy in Achaia. The enemies of the illustrious Theban were eager to seize so favourable an opportunity of accusing and calumniating him. The Thebans, therefore, were instigated to disapprove the proceedings of their general, and commissioners were sent to overturn the aristocracy, and to re-establish the democracical form of government. Accordingly, the nobles were banished, or put to death; but when the Theban forces were withdrawn from Achaia, the exiles returned, as by mutual consent. Being numerous and powerful, they recovered, after a bloody and desperate struggle, their ancient influence over their respective cities. The partisans of democracy were expelled, or put to death; and the successful party, sensible how dangerous it was to depend for assistance on the Theban republic, applied to Sparta for protection. This was accordingly granted; and whilst the Achæans ravaged the northern, their allies of Lacedæmon infested the southern frontier of Arcadia.

Though the laws of Sicyon were similar to those of Achaia, that city did not follow, on the present

present occasion, the example of its neighbours; but Euphron, a bold, crafty, and seditious demagogue, endeavoured to obtain the sovereignty there by his connexions and influence with the Lacedæmonians. By caresses, bribes, and flattery, he gained the favour of the troops; and amassed great sums of money, which were applied by him to confirm his usurpation. The venality and corruption of the neighbouring states of Greece enabled him to continue this detestable policy, until Æneas the Stymphalian obtained the command of the Arcadians. The vicinity of Sicyon to Stymphalus, the place of his birth and residence, made him become acquainted with the oppressed condition of the former city. Perhaps Æneas might not have sufficiently shared the largesses of Euphron; or, to judge more candidly, perhaps the humanity of his nature induced him to lament the sufferings of the Sicyonians. Certain, however, it is, that he endeavoured to expel the tyrant from his usurpation, and to restore the inhabitants to liberty.

But Euphron spared neither pains, promises, nor bribes, to enable him to retain the sovereignty. By his activity and abilities, he prevailed on the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, and the Thebans, to engage successively in his favour, though by supporting his tyranny they acted in direct opposition to the principles they professed. He could not, however, with all these aids, always prevail against domestic faction and foreign hostilities. He fled to Thebes with the greatest part of his treasure: his enemies sent emissaries, to counteract his intrigues in that city; but the money and address of Euphron

phron so far prevailed with the Theban magistrates, that he expected the Thebans would march an army to Sicyon and restore him to his sovereignty, as the Athenians had done once before. The Sicyonians who had been sent to Thebes to counteract his designs, finding the influence he possessed in that city, were obliged to have recourse to the only expedient left them: they therefore assassinated Euphron in the Cadmea, while the Theban archons and magistrates were assembled within its walls.

In the mean time, the war was carried on very feebly by both sides. The Athenians and Arcadians, being disgusted with the conduct of their respective allies, concluded a treaty of peace and mutual defence between the two republics. The chief promoter of this measure was Lycomedes, the Arcadian general, who was soon after slain on his return from Athens, by a party of Arcadian exiles. This negotiation gave great alarm to the rest of the Grecian states, when it was considered, that the Arcadians being the allies of Thebes, the united strength of these three republics was, at that time, sufficient to subdue and enslave all Greece. This terror was still more increased, when it was known that Athens refused to give up those places in the territory of Corinth which they had only undertaken to defend against the Thebans and Arcadians. The Corinthians, however, contrived, without proceeding to an open rupture, to procure the evacuation of the cities garrisoned by the Athenians.

During five years, the Phliasians had given such illustrious proofs of their fidelity and attachment to Sparta as can scarcely be equalled in

in the history of any nation. Situated in the midst of their enemies, they had ever since the battle of Leuctra suffered the invasions and assaults of the Thebans, Arcadians, and Argives. The enemy had wasted their territory, besieged their city, and more than once made themselves masters of the citadel: the whole of their wealth, public as well as private, was exhausted; and they could only subsist on the precarious supply of provisions brought from Corinth, for the payment of which they had been obliged to pledge their beasts of burden. Nevertheless, under the pressure of these multiplied calamities, their fidelity was unshaken; they had refused to conclude a peace with Thebes, because that republic required them to forsake Sparta; and when, at last, by the apparent defection of Corinth, Phlius seemed to be deprived of the only source of subsistence, the Phliasians determined, with the permission of Sparta, to negotiate with Thebes for neutrality alone.

An embassy, therefore, was sent to Sparta, requesting that the Spartans would accept the terms of peace lately offered them by Thebes; or, if they deemed it inconsistent with honour to resign their pretensions to the territory of Messenia, they would, at least, permit their faithful, helpless, and suffering allies, to enter into a separate negotiation with the Theban republic.

But the pretensions of the Spartans seem to have risen, in proportion as they became more unable to support them. On that particular occasion, Archidamus increased the proud obstinacy natural to that extraordinary people, by an animated speech, full of the most confident hopes, and glowing with all the warmth of youth.

youth. The speech accorded with the sentiments of the people. The allies were dismissed with leave to act as seemed to suit best their inclinations and interests, with assurances, that Sparta would never agree to any accommodation, so long as Messenia was unjustly detained from them. Ambassadors were therefore sent to Thebes, from Corinth, Phlius, and Achaia, who obtained the desired neutrality.

It is very probable that Sparta, thus deserted by all her allies, must in a little time have fallen the victim of her pride and obstinacy, had not circumstances, unforeseen by Archidamus, favoured that republic. Epaminondas was not satisfied with the power which Thebes had obtained by land, but he endeavoured also to make her mistress of the sea. The vigilance of Athens, however, defeated his purpose. At this time, the arms of Thebes were summoned to a service which more immediately concerned their interest and their honour.

Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, began to display once more the resources of his fertile genius, and the inhumanity and cruelty of his disposition. He had collected a numerous army of mercenary troops, which he kept up with great address; and Athens having granted him assistance, all the principal cities of Thessaly fell into his hands. The oppressed Thessalians again implored the protection of the Thebans, whose powerful assistance they had, on a former occasion, so happily experienced, and whose standard they had so unanimously and gratefully followed. The Thebans, therefore, sent an army of ten thousand men, under the command of Pelopidas,

das, the personal enemy of Alexander; but it happened, that whilst he was on his march the day was darkened by an eclipse of the sun. The soldiers, alarmed at this phenomenon, became greatly dispirited, and many of them refused to proceed.

Pelopidas, unwilling to compel his troops to perform any reluctant service, permitted those who wished it, to return; while the soldiers that despised vain omens desired to follow their beloved general, who conducted them into Thessaly. Their allies having joined them near the town of Pharsalus, they encamped together at the foot of the mountains of Cynoscephalæ. An engagement was immediately offered by the enemy, who were twenty thousand strong; and Pelopidas, though his army was greatly inferior in numbers, did not decline the battle. At the first onset, the Theban cavalry had the advantage; but the infantry of the enemy having gained the higher ground, pressed the Thebans and Thessalians with great vigour. In this emergency, Pelopidas rode up to encourage the troops, whom he led forward against the enemy animated with fresh spirits. Alexander concluded the Thebans had received reinforcements, from the courage with which they returned to the charge; and the mercenaries were immediately thrown into confusion.

Pelopidas perceiving Alexander, as he was endeavouring to rally his disordered troops, advanced, and challenged him to single combat; but, instead of accepting the offer, he retired behind his guards, whom the Theban general attacked with fury. Whilst he thus, with more

courage

courage than discretion, exposed his person, he was desperately wounded by a javelin, and afterwards dispatched by the spears of the enemy. In the mean time, his troops advancing to the relief of their general, repelled the guards of the tyrant. The Thebans and their allies gained a complete victory, and pursued the enemy, who lost three thousand men.

The death of the general, however, threw a gloom over the victory. The Thebans and Thessalians lamented him with immoderate demonstrations of sorrow. His body was carried to Thebes to be buried, attended by an innumerable company of real mouners. The Thessalians considering themselves as the greatest sufferers by his death, requested permission to defray the expences of his funeral. This was granted, and the burial of Pelopidas performed with great magnificence. The multitude, recollecting the eclipse that happened during the march of the army, exclaimed "that the sun of Thebes was set, and her glory departed for ever." The tyrant was soon after defeated again, and deprived of all his conquests. He was, however, permitted to reign at Pheræ, but the other cities entered into an alliance with Thebes.

During the absence of Epaminondas with the Theban fleet, and of Pelopidas in Thessaly, the Orchomenians were excited by some fugitives from Thebes, to attempt overturning the democracy, and establishing an aristocratical form of government in that state. The design was to have been put in execution at the annual review of the Orchomenian troops. The project

 was,

was, however, timely discovered by the vigilance of the Theban magistrates; and the cavalry of Orchomenus, to the number of three hundred, were surrounded and cut to pieces in the market-place at Thebes. Nor did this vengeance satisfy the enraged populace; a powerful body of forces was sent against Orchomenus, who besieged and took the city, razed it to the ground, put all the men to the sword, and dragged the women and children into captivity.

All this time, the Thebans endeavoured to improve every disturbance that happened, to their own advantage. The Arcadians, whose numbers and strength, and the confidence they put in Athens, their new ally, encouraged them to give full scope to that ambition by which they had been long actuated, aimed at nothing less than the total conquest of Peloponnesus. To pave the way for this measure, they attacked the Eleans, the least warlike and the most wealthy of any of the neighbouring states. The Eleans finding themselves unable to resist the enemy, made application to Sparta for succours. Accordingly that state, being reinforced by the Achæans, notwithstanding the recent neutrality that had been stipulated, made very vigorous attempts to defend the Elean territory; but the Arcadians made themselves masters of most of their towns, and at length, of Olympia itself, the most valuable of their possessions, and the ornament of Peloponnesus. As the sacred city was their property, and by virtue of a divine right, derived from the inhabitants of Pisa, an ancient but decayed place in the neighbourhood of Olympia, the Arcadians prepared to celebrate the hundred

and

and fourth Olympiad, which was just approaching*. At the celebration of these games, the concourse of people from all parts of Greece, was, as usual, very great. Hostilities were suspended; and all united in the common amusements, and common ceremonies of religion.

Whilst they were performing the military games, the spectators and actors were alarmed by the sudden clashing of armour, and the sight of a *real* battle. The Eleans had marched forth with their whole force, and surprised the Arcadians, who, with two thousand Argives, and a body of four hundred cavalry, protected the sacred groves and temples of Olympia. They attacked the Arcadians with great vigour, and these intruders not expecting this assault, fled in great disorder through the streets, and were pursued by the Eleans with a seemingly inspired valour; but the Arcadians, at length, recovering from their consternation, attacked the enemy and repelled them in turn. The Eleans, however, did not retire, until Stratolas, their commander, with many other brave men, was slain; they then retreated in good order, and convinced the enemy that the ideas they had formed of their effeminacy and unwarlike character, were false and unjust. The Arcadians having redoubled their guards, and taken every necessary precaution against a second surprize, proceeded with the remaining ceremonies of the festival,

* The Olympic games were celebrated in honour of Jupiter Olympus, were performed every fifth year, and continued for five days. The solemnity, from which the Greeks reckoned their Olympiads, was first celebrated about the year 979 before Jesus Christ.

which,

which, without suffering any other interruption, was brought to a conclusion.

The Olympic games being finished, the congress of people dispersed to their respective states, and the Arcadians found themselves in complete possession of the city and temple of Jupiter. Here were deposited the collected treasures of many centuries, the united gifts of vanity and superstition. The Arcadians having a body of mercenary troops in their army, and being unable, in any other manner to pay their soldiers, seized the sacred treasure. The Mantinæans first protested against this rapacity; instead of receiving their share of the plunder, they imposed a tax upon themselves, for the payment of the mercenary troops; and the money thus levied, the Mantinæans transmitted to the archons or magistrates, appointed by the ten thousand to administer the general concerns of the Arcadian nation. But the archons, who had freely accepted their part of the sacred treasure, represented that this pretended delicacy, or obstinacy, of the Mantinæans, was extremely dangerous to the interests of the states of Arcadia, and insinuated that their hypocritical pretences to justice and piety very probably concealed some criminal design.

The ten thousand, therefore, summoned the magistrates of Mantinæa to appear at their bar, and answer for their conduct; but the Mantinæans refused to obey. Upon which a detachment of mercenaries were sent to bring them by force; but the Mantinæans shut their gates, and would not allow them to enter their city. The archons, therefore, sent to request the immediate

assistance

assistance of Thebes, and pretended that the states of Arcadia were about to revolt to Sparta. On the contrary, the states sent word to the Thebans not to pass the isthmus until they received further instructions from them. This, however, did not satisfy them; they gave immediate orders to restore Olympia, and the celebration of the games, to those who had enjoyed them from time immemorial; they then concluded a peace with the Elians, who solicited it with great earnestness, and represented it as a measure highly conducive to the interest of Peloponnesus.

The congress of deputies from Elis, and from many cities of Arcadia, was assembled for this beneficial purpose at Tegæa. Matters being seemingly adjusted, and all parties satisfied, entertainments and feasts were prepared as usual. All the deputies, except those of Mantinæa, who were invited home by the vicinity of their city, remained at Tegæa to celebrate the feast of peace. In the mean time, the archons dreading the consequences of this hasty accommodation, which could not fail of detecting their embezzlement of the Olympic treasure, addressed themselves to a Theban general, who commanded a body of Bœotian troops that garrisoned Tegæa. The Theban commander had himself accepted part of the treasure, and was therefore easily prevailed on to execute any measure which might prevent a detection of the crime. Nothing seemed more likely for effecting this purpose, than to seize and detain the deputies who were the principal persons of Arcadia; and accordingly, the gates of Tegæa were immediately shut and secured, and detachments of armed

men

men surrounded the place in which the deputies were assembled, who were taken unprepared, and conducted to different prisons.

When this was known at Mantinæa, the inhabitants of that city sent to demand some few of their citizens, who had remained at Tegæa after the departure of their colleagues; they also informed the archons and the Theban general, that according to the laws of their country, no Arcadian could be condemned to death, without the benefit of a fair and open trial. Messengers were also dispatched to the several cities of Arcadia, exhorting them to take arms in their own defence, to attempt the relief of their fellow citizens who were so unjustly imprisoned, and to avenge the insult and injury offered to the several states of Arcadia, in the persons of their representatives.

When the Theban general, and those who had committed the outrage, became sensible of these proceedings of the Arcadians, they were alarmed for the consequences; they knew that they deserved the indignation of Arcadia, and that all Greece would not fail to condemn the irregularity and violence of their conduct. These just reflections induced the Theban commander to set the prisoners at liberty. In the assembly which met the following day to take cognizance of this affair, he endeavoured to exculpate himself by observing, that having been informed of the march of a Lacedæmonian army towards the frontier, he had seized the deputies, who, he was told, intended to deliver up Tegæa to the enemy. This, however, did not satisfy the Arcadians, who were not to be duped by such a shallow artifice; but they abstained from punishing

nishing the general and his accomplices, and sent ministers to Thebes, with instructions to make known to that state the insults and injuries offered to them, and to impeach the criminals.

The ambassadors, however, met with a very different reception at Thebes from what they expected. Epaminondas declared that his countrymen had done perfectly right in seizing the deputies, but wrong in dismissing them. The Arcadians, he said, had acted treacherously with the Thebans, in making peace with Athens, without the previous consent of their confederates. "And take it for granted," continued he, "that the Thebans will march into Peloponnesus, and aid their friends, and then we shall see the proofs of your fidelity." This speech, spoken in a menacing and commanding manner, expressed the general sentiments of the republic, and was heard by the Arcadian states and their allies of Elis and Achaia, with great indignation and surprise.

They remarked, that, if the Thebans did not consider it their interest to perpetuate the divisions and hostilities of a country, which they were desirous of weakening and subduing, it was obvious they would not have objected to the peace of Peloponnesus. They therefore, entered into a closer alliance with each other, and made preparations for a vigorous defence. Ambassadors were sent to Athens and Sparta, to inform them of the resolution of the Thebans. The former republic might, therefore, be ready to counteract the designs of a neighbouring and rival state; and the latter might take arms, and prepare for maintaining the independence of a portion of Greece,

Greece, which had long owed its defence to the valour and magnanimity of Sparta.

The Athenians and Spartans being informed of the measures which the Theban republic had determined to pursue, were easily prevailed on to send assistance to the Mantinæans. To prevent all disputes that might have happened relative to the command of the forces, it was agreed, that the general of each state, whilst the army remained within its territories, should be commander in chief. In the mean time, Epaminondas assembled the Eubæans, a strong body of Thessalians, partly raised by Alexander, and partly supplied by the cities which Pelopidas had delivered from the yoke of that tyrant, and all the Bœotians. With these troops the Theban general took the field. But he expected that when he arrived in Peloponnesus, the Argives, the Messenians, and several communities of Arcadia, would join his standard. Epaminondas marched his army to Nemea, an ancient city in the Argive territory, and celebrated for the games performed in it, in honour of Hercules. Through this district it was, that the Athenians would have to pass, in their route towards the territories of their friends. Epaminondas, convinced that nothing would contribute more to animate the courage, and increase the number of the Theban partisans, in every part of Greece, than an advantage obtained over the enemy in the commencement of the campaign, resolved to intercept the Athenians at this place. With that design, he remained many days in the district of Nemea; but this project was defeated by the prudence of the Athenians; instead of marching through the isthmus, they sailed to the coast of

Laconia,

Laconia, and proceeded from thence to join the confederate army at Mantinæa, which had been appointed as the place of rendezvous.

Epaminondas thus disappointed, and being informed of the enemy's design, decamped and marched his troops to Tegæa, which, as it was a strongly fortified place, and a central situation, had been judiciously chosen for assembling his Peloponnesian confederates. Here he continued many weeks, but was greatly disappointed that none of the neighbouring towns submitted, and requested the protection of the Theban arms. His army now consisted of thirty thousand soldiers, of whom the cavalry exceeded three thousand. The strength of the enemy at Mantinæa was fast increasing; and Agesilaus, the Spartan king had marched the Lacedæmonian troops into the frontiers of Arcadia, that he might join his allies. Epaminondas considered, that if the Spartan forces should unite with the rest, the combined army would be greatly superior in numbers to that which he commanded, and therefore he formed a project, which, if it should prove successful, would render the present hitherto fruitless expedition not unworthy of the fame he had formerly acquired.

He decamped with his army in the night, and marched to Sparta, a journey of thirty miles, expecting to surprise that city. But a Cretan deserter, of extraordinary swiftness, hastened to inform Agesilaus of the danger of the city. The great body of the Lacedæmonian army had, however, proceeded too far on the road to Mantinæa, to be of any service in this emergency; but the aged king, with his son Archidamus, and a small, yet valiant band of troops, returned

to the defence of their capital. Every precaution, which the peculiar sagacity of Epaminondas could suggest, was employed by him in this enterprize. In his approach to the capital of Lacedæmon he avoided the narrow roads, where the superiority of numbers would give him no advantage; he did not draw up his forces in the plain, in which, while they entered the town, the soldiers would have been exposed to the missile weapons of the enemy; but having seized an eminence that commanded Sparta, he resolved to descend into it with every advantage on his side, and without exposing his troops to any apparent inconvenience.

This well-concerted scheme was, however, defeated. Agesilaus attacked the invaders with great bravery; while his son Archidamus, with scarcely an hundred men, opposed the progress of the enemy who had penetrated into the city, cut down the first ranks, and advanced to assault the rest. Isidas, a young Spartan, who had stripped naked, and anointed himself with oil, sallied forth against the Thebans. He held a spear in one hand and a sword in the other, and marked his path with blood through the thickest of the enemy. He returned unhurt, was crowned for his valour, but fined for fighting without his shield.

Though the Thebans were thus repulsed, and this promising enterprize defeated, Epaminondas did not sink under his disappointment. Considering that the whole of the force which had assembled at Mantinæa might probably be withdrawn from that city, in order to defend Sparta, he marched his troops back to Tegæa with all expedition, and allowing his infantry some rest

and

and refreshment, sent the cavalry forward to Mantinæa, giving them orders to maintain their ground, until he arrived to their assistance with the main body of the Theban troops. He expected they would have found the city wholly unprepared; but though this plan was also well concerted, it nevertheless failed in the execution. Before the Theban cavalry arrived at the place of their destination, a numerous and powerful squadron of Athenian horse entered Mantinæa, ignorant that Sparta had been attacked, and that the allies had departed to protect that city. They had scarcely entered the place, however, when the Theban cavalry appeared, who, advancing with great rapidity, seemed eager to effect the object of their expedition. The Athenians had received no refreshment that day: the enemy were superior in number, and they were not ignorant of the bravery of the Theban and Thessalian cavalry; but nothing could obstruct their resolution. Regardless of every consideration but the safety and interest of their allies, they rushed into the field, attacked, and repulsed the enemy; and after a fierce and bloody battle, which fully displayed the courage of both the assailants and the assailed, the Athenians gained a complete victory. The conquerors erected a trophy, which had saved the corn, cattle, slaves, women, and children, from falling into the hands of the invaders; and the Thebans were under the necessity of craving the bodies of their dead.

Epaminondas, who had never experienced such defeats before, grew chagrined at his misfortunes, and feared lest his reputation should thereby suffer, and the glory of his former exploits be tarnished. What added to his present

difficulties was, that the term of his command was nearly expired, and he had scarcely sufficient time for retrieving the ill state of his affairs, and achieving something worthy of himself. He therefore determined to attempt a general engagement, in which he might either obliterate the remembrance of his late disgrace, or, in fighting in order to render Thebes the sovereign of Greece, obtain an honourable death.

The confederates had followed the Thebans very closely from Sparta, and having reassembled at Mantinæa, had received considerable reinforcements. Fresh succours had also arrived at the Theban camp. The Greeks had never fought among themselves with more numerous armies; but battles became interesting, not so much by the numbers of the combatants, as by the conduct of the general. Xenophon says it is worthy of observation to notice the military operations of Epaminondas, on this memorable occasion. Having formed his men into battalions, he marched them in the same order in which he intended them to fight: he did not lead them directly towards Mantinæa, but turning to the left, conducted them along a chain of hills between that city and Tegæa, and which skirted the eastern extremity of both. The enemy seeing the movement of the Thebans, drew out their forces before Mantinæa. The Lacedæmonians, and such Arcadians as had proved themselves the most honourable, had the right; the Athenians the left wing; and the Eleans and Archæans were placed in the center.

In the mean time, the Theban commander marched his troops slowly forward, and seemed to extend his circuit, that he might induce the enemy

enemy to believe he did not intend to fight that day. When his forces had reached that part of the mountain which was opposite to the enemy, he commanded his men to halt, and to lay down their arms. His movement had, at first, created much doubt and perplexity in the minds of the enemy; but they were now satisfied that he intended to decline the engagement for the present, and to encamp where he had halted. They therefore abandoned their arms and their ranks, dispersed themselves about the camp, and lost not only that external arrangement, but that internal preparation, that martial ardour of mind, which is necessary in the moment of battle, and ought to animate soldiers at the near prospect of an engagement.

Epaminondas perceiving the situation of the enemy, embraced the opportunity, favourable for attacking them. Commanding his men to face about, he converted the order of march into an order of battle; and by this means his troops were instantly formed, and ready to engage. The warlike youth of Bœotia were placed in the left wing, at the head of which, as he had done before in the battle of Leuctra, he formed the Bœotians into a firm wedge, with a sharp point, and spreading flanks. In this manner he advanced with his troops against the Spartans and Mantinæans, hoping to decide the fate of the battle by the rapid impulse of this unexpected onset, and assured himself, that if he could only penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which was the principal strength of the enemy, the rest of their army would be easily routed, by charging on the right and left with his soldiers elated with

PAGE NO- 186 MISSING IN ORIGINAL

by the example and success of the left, attacked and repelled with much slaughter the corresponding divisions of the enemy.

The cavalry covered the flank of the left wing, and having engaged the enemy's horse, were equally successful. The Theban general, whose sagacity nothing could escape, had placed in the intervals of their ranks a body of light infantry. These discharged great numbers of missile weapons, and very much annoyed their cavalry, who had been drawn up too deep, and were, after making several ineffectual attacks, which only occasioned their own loss, obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time Epaminondas, having exposed himself too much at the head of the army, was wounded by a javelin across the cuirass. The wood of the instrument being broken off, the steel remained in the wound, and he immediately fell. He was then carried to the watch-tower, where he might observe the subsequent operations of the army; but with the departure of their leader, the spirit which had hitherto animated the Thebans, seemed also withdrawn. They had bravely broke through the hostile battalions, but knew not how to profit of the advantage they had gained. The two contending armies prevailed in partial rencounters, and in different parts of the field: confusion and terror were every where visible; the Theban and Thessalian cavalry having routed the Athenian horse, pursued after them; and the infantry which had been placed in the intervals of the ranks, were left behind. Upon this, the Athenians commanded by Hegilochus, finding that the enemy had quitted the pursuit and had directed their

attention

attention to another object, returned to the charge, and cut to pieces the body of light infantry.

Elated with their success, the Athenian cavalry then turned their arms against a detachment which Epaminondas had placed upon a rising ground, for the purpose of taking the enemy in flank and rear if they advanced from their post. These troops, which consisted chiefly of Eubæans, were routed and put to flight, after a terrible slaughter. Upon these different movements and alternations of victory and defeat, the trumpets of the two armies, as if by mutual consent, sounded a retreat at the same time. Each party claimed the victory, and erected a trophy; and both for some time refused to crave their dead. At length, however, the Lacedæmonians dispatched a herald to perform this office, and the Thebans were thereby acknowledged the conquerors. This battle, which, as it was the greatest, was expected to have proved the most decisive of any ever fought among the Greeks; but consequences of this severe and bloody engagement were only a general languor and debility, long observable in the subsequent operations of those hostile republics.

B. C. 362.

After the termination of the contest, the principal persons of the Theban army assembled round the body of the dying general. The surgeons who attended him having examined the wound, declared that he could not survive the extraction of the weapon. He then enquired whether his shield was safe, which being brought to him, he received with evident demonstrations of joy. He next demanded what had been the event of the battle? And was answered, that the Thebans

Thebans had been victorious. Upon which he observed, "then I die contented, since Thebes is triumphant, and Sparta humbled." The spectators lamented with great sorrow and affliction the death of this extraordinary man, and more particularly bewailed that he should die without issue, since his children might have inherited the glory of his name, and the fame of his virtues. Epaminondas overhearing what they said, replied with a chearful countenance, "Do not mistake yourselves on this point. I leave two fair daughters, the battles of Leuctra and Mantinæa, who will transmit my name to the latest posterity."

Having thus spoken, he commanded the weapon to be extracted, and died immediately. The awful solemnity of the death of this celebrated man, corresponded with his active and useful life. It has been doubted whether his abilities or his virtues surpassed. In the page of history his character is usually described as perfect; nor does there appear to be any reason for supposing this description greatly exaggerated. In some respects, however, he appears to have inherited the lapses and failings incident to humanity; in the last Peloponnesian invasion, in particular, the blaze of patriotism eclipsed the milder virtues of justice and benevolence. He was buried in the field of battle, and the Thebans raised a monument over his tomb, commemorating his great achievements.

By the death of Epaminondas, Thebes was deprived of her greatest ornament and defence, the source of her confidence, and the springs of her activity. Her councils became thenceforth more languid, and her arms less enterprising; but

but she was not reduced to the condition of a dependent state, as some authors have asserted. On the contrary, six years after that event she controuled the decisions of the Amphictyonic council, and her power was formidable to her warlike neighbours.

After the battle of Mantinæa, Artaxerxes, who was in want of Grecian auxiliaries, for quelling the insurrections that had broke out in Egypt and Asia minor, proposed a general peace among the several communities of Greece. By the conditions of this treaty, it was stipulated, that each republic should have its respective possessions restored. The Spartans, however, determined to reject all overtures for an accommodation, unless Messenia should be again annexed to their commonwealth; but as the Persian monarch was ever averse from granting this demand, the Spartans transported forces into Egypt to foment the defection of that province. The Lacedæmonian army amounted to ten thousand heavy-armed men, and as great a number of mercenaries; and were commanded by Agesilaus in person. He joined his forces with those of Tachos king of Egypt; but a difference happening between them, Agesilaus deserted the cause of that prince, and declared for Nectanebis, whom he placed on the throne of that kingdom. In this dishonourable employment the Spartan king amassed great wealth, with which he probably expected to retrieve the affairs of his country. In his return to Sparta he died at Cyrenaica, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and the forty-first of his reign. His
B. C. 361. character has been already, perhaps, sufficiently delineated. He was the greatest and most unfortunate of all the Spartan

kings. He had beheld Sparta at the summit of her grandeur, and the downfal of her greatness he also lived to see. Whilst he governed, the republic suffered more calamities and disgrace, than it had experienced in seven preceding centuries. These disasters were doubtless, in a great measure, occasioned by the obstinacy and ambition of Agesilaus. Xenophon, however, contemplating the principles on which he acted, the great probability of success that attended his actions, and the dignified firmness and steady endeavours of his struggles for victory, pronounced on the unfortunate king a panegyric which exalts him far above the most illustrious of his predecessors.

The struggles for dominion which had long exercised and weakened the communities of Thebes and Sparta, were terminated by the battle of Mantinæa. Their ablest generals, and most warlike youth, were now no more. No Theban patriot arose to prosecute the magnanimous views of Epaminondas, and to complete his successful attempts. After the death of Agesilaus, his son Archidamus succeeded to the Spartan throne. Great expectations had been formed of this prince during the life of his father; but he very imperfectly justified the high opinion that had been conceived of his early wisdom and valour. Exhausted by the war which had continued so long without producing any beneficial consequences, the two rival states sunk into such a degree of weakness, that the pretensions of their neighbours which had long lain dormant, were revived. Whilst Athens had the superiority of Greece, the council of the Amphictyons greatly degenerated from the virtues for which it

it had formerly been remarkable; and the majesty of that assembly became nothing more than an empty pageant. These degenerate principles however, were not extirpated by the downfal of the Athenian greatness. During the empire of Sparta and Thebes, the same degeneracy of morals still prevailed in the camp.

The only deliberation on which the Amphictyons were employed related to mere matters of form. They superintended and regulated the ceremonies of a religious worship, founded in superstition and idolatry: they appointed the different games and spectacles performed in different parts of the Grecian nation; and they preserved order and tranquility among the numerous crowds that arrived at Delphos, at stated times to consult the degrees of Apollo, For more, however, than a century past, the assembly for directing the public councils of the nation, had been held not at Delphos, the appointed residence of the Amphictyons, but at Athens, Sparta, or Thebes. In one of these cities, the allies were convened in any emergency of affairs; and by their presence they acknowledged the respective authority of those capitals, which were considered as the head of their several confederacies. But after the Peloponnesian, then the Bœotian war, and last of all the battle of Mantinæa, had crushed successively the greatness and overthrown the proud tyranny of those domineering republics, the Amphictyonic councel again emerged into notice and respect; and the general states of Greece spurned with contempt and abhorrence, the imperious and tyrannizing dictates of any single republic.

The fœderal union of the Grecian states was by this

this means greatly strengthened; and the primitive equality of freedom almost established. In the midst, however, of these revolutions in affairs, various and concurrent circumstances happened which tended in a very considerable degree to revive the talent, but still aspiring ambition of the Athenian republic. The battle of Leuctra gave that community an ascendency over the other states of Greece, which she had never before possessed, after the calamitous termination of the protracted Peloponnesian war. During the hostilities carried on in Bœotia, Athens acted only as an auxiliary in the war, and was not one of the principal agents; but the Athenian arms had, nevertheless, acquired a lustre, without being obliged to use such efforts as tended to weaken her strength and resources. The powerful rivals of their republic was now completely humbled, for Sparta seemed scarcely the shadow of power. They had been taught by fatal experience the danger of subjugating, and the impossibility of keeping in subjection, the provinces and possessions of their warlike neighbours; but the numerous islands of the Ægean and Ionian seas, the remote coasts of Thrace and Asia, invited the activity of their fleet, which in the present situation of Greece, afforded them means sufficient for making foreign conquests, without regarding the envy of their neighbours. Soon after the battle of Mantinæa, it appears that Eubœa the ancient and most advantageous ally of Athens, again acknowledged the authority of that republic. This event had been facilitated by the destruction of those Eubœans who favoured Thebes in the engagement at Mantinæa.

Timotheus, Chebrias, and Iphicrates, the

Athenian commanders, had reduced several places on both shores from the Thracian Bosphorus to Rhodes. These men since the death of Agesilaus and Epaminondas, were far superior in abilities and virtue to any of the contemporary generals in the other states. The Cyclades and Corcyra had sent to court the favour of a republic, whose influence enabled her to interrupt or forward their navigation, and to encourage or destroy their commerce. The populous and wealthy city of Byzantium had entered into an alliance with the Athenians; and they had reasons to hope that Amphipolis would soon become subject to their republic. These multiplied, and not long before, unexpected advantages were the means of once more reviving the ancient, but decayed grandeur of the Athenian state. Athens again obtained the sovereignty of the sea; for by great exertions, that state had equipped a fleet of three hundred sail, and the best half of her citizens and subjects were employed in navigating ships of war or commerce.

This tide of prosperity which appeared to flow with the greatest force, immediately after the battle of Mantinæa, has been considered as productive of the most important consequences. Some persons remarked, but without having any just foundation for the assertion, that the jealousy and fear which Epaminondas inspired in the several communities of Greece, kept the Athenians vigilant in their duty during the life of that illustrious Theban; and that, after the death of their formidable enemy, they sunk into those vices, which occasioned, or at least, accelerated their ruin. This observation is more plausible

sible than true; for we are told by Solon who flourished two centuries before the birth of Epaminondas, that the injustice, the avarice, and the depravation of Athenian morals were almost incredibly great.

To counteract and eradicate these vicious propensities and indulgencies, we have already seen to be the object of that great lawgiver in forming his code of institutions; but the abuses might more easily be perceived, than reformed. A form of government purely democratical may, and will have its advantages, but it will also have its attendant and inseparable evils. Whilst human nature remains unchanged, and the passions of men are continued in their ordinary and direct channel, the right of exercising power will too commonly be accompanied by the inclination to abuse it. The greatest liberty will ever be found to prevail where the prerogative of the ruling power is checked and controuled by the privileges of the subject. Unless, therefore, that part of the constitution which sustains its political life, be kept separate and divided from that which too often, if not always tends to corruption it matters not, whether a nation be governed by one tyrant or a thousand; since in both cases, the condition of the subject will be unavoidably precarious, and the law itself give way to force. In Athens, where the executive authority was divided and subdivided among the archons, the senate, the assembly, and various committees of the assembly, it was impossible to perceive, or if he perceived, to prevent the hand of oppression.

This great and radical defect in the policies of ancient Greece, occasioned many destructive con-

sequences in the foreign and domestic affairs of that nation. The executive government was generally directed by the selfish passions of a few, or by the fluctuating caprice and ignorancc of the multitude, rather than by the steady and permanent interests of the community. It was not, however, until after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, that the imperfections and vices of the Athenian government appeared in their full magnitude of deformity. And though intervals of ease and prosperity sometimes appeared, which concealed for a while the virulence of the evil, it nevertheless was still maintaining a secret, but certain progress in the vitals of the state, until, at length, it completely effected the destruction of the constitution.

In the turbulence of the Grecian governments, the judiciary power too often prevailed over the legislative. The causes of dissention were innumerable; and the public restraint, which laws ill administered could produce, was unable to counteract their force and tendency. Is it true there was no hereditary distinction known or regarded; and the transcendency of merit alone occasioned a difference in the rank of citizens; but nevertheless the rich and the poor formed two separate and distinct parties, and were actuated by different interests and different views. In some of the Grecian republics which had adopted the aristocratical form of government, the citizens of the higher ranks bound themselves by oath, to neglect no opportunity of injuring their inferiors. The Athenian multitude generally treated the rich as if they had entered into an engagement not less atrocious. We have frequently had occasion to remark the atrocities and cruelties,

ties, which the one party exercised on the other, when the state had become disunited by faction and a civil war had ensued; and during the intervals of party rage, private quarrels kept up a perpetual ferment. Independent of the ordinary disputes relative to prosperity, the various competitions for military command, for procuring public honours, eluding punishments or burthens, opened a continual source of litigation. Among this contentious people, neighbours were almost always at variance; and he who had not proved that he was a friend, was certain to be considered in the light of a rival, or an enemy.

Resentments were hereditary, and descended from father to son for successive generations. Six thousand Athenians were conssantly employed in deciding law-suits, the profits of which were the principal resources of the poor. The fees of those Athenians amounted annually to one hundred and fifty talents. The bribes generally exceeded that sum; and both united formed not less than a sixth part of the revenues of Athens, even when the republic was in its most flourishing condition. The tribunals were engrossed by the more numerous class of the people, who were most susceptible of bribery; and, in their judicial capacity, they were always more swayed by favour and prejudice, than by reason and equity. It was death for a man to receive bribes, according to the law; but, "we," say some of the Athenians, "give such a man the command of our fleets and our armies. If he becomes still more guilty in this respect, we advance him to higher and more lucrative offices of the state." They who courted popular favour,

 distributed

distributed among the populace, not only their own, but the public money. This system of corruption was introduced during the administration of Pericles. It was however, still more diffusively extended under his unworthy successors; and though the calamities of the republic, after the Peloponnesian war, interrupted in some measure the course of this venality, it nevertheles immediately revived on the first appearance of returning prosperity.

The concurring testimony of ancient writers impute this extreme degeneracy and corruption to the Grecian music, which almost universally infected the Athenians, at the period of which we are treating, The same causes which operate on many, are not easily mistaken; but were we inclined to doubt the cause, we could not deny the effect. The Athenian youth are said to have become weary and fastidious with criminal indulgence. They no longer possessed the capacity and taste for manly and solid occupations. The exercises of war, and the schools of philosophy were alike deserted. That they might fill up the vacuities of their time, the youth, and also the more advanced in age, employed themselves in sauntering about the forum, loitering in the shops of musicians and other artists, and enquiring for news in which they could feel no interest, unless some danger alarmed the insipid uniformity of their pleasures. The dice and other games of chance formed a favourite but ruinous amusement. The sensual gratifications of the table were carried to a great excess And it is said, that the freedom of Athens (once deemed an honour by princes and kings) was bestowed

stowed on the sons of Chærephilus, on account of the uncommon merit of their father in the art of cookery.

Most of the Athenian citizens had been reduced to indigence and beggary, by means of idleness, indulgence and dissipation. Though landed property was more equally divided in Greece than in any other country, above one-fourth of the Athenians were destitute of immoveable possessions. In their dress, it was scarcely possible to distinguish them from slaves; nor did this arise from slovenliness, but from poverty, since we are told, that all who could afford the expence, spared no pains to adorn their persons. It was not therefore, in the nature of things to be expected, that men like these should administer the public affairs with wisdom; accordingly we find, that they were in general ill qualified for discharging those offices, with which they were intrusted.

The clerks that copied the laws of Solon were frequently bribed to abridge, interpolate, and corrupt them, in order to meet the views of particular persons. This was the cause of endless litigation. Nor could the artifice often be detected until the contradictory laws were produced in court. Thus when their negligence could not be surprised, their avarice might be bribed: justice was put up for sale; and riches, virtue, eminence of rank, or abilities, always exposed their possessors to danger, and frequently procured their disgrace. Though the Athenians were sometimes directed by persons of integrity and virtue, of patriotism and magnanimity, they too often listened to the counsels of many whose chracters were the reverse; for he who

could

could best offer the incense of adulation and deceive the people, was most certain of their confidence and esteem. Such qualifications as these enabled the turbulent, licentious, and dissolute demagogues, and in a word, the orators who most resembled the audience, generally to prevail in the popular assembly. The reward which real merit deserved, was carried off by specious and even noxious abilities.

With principles and manners like those we have been describing, it was no very difficult task for a daring and profligate leader, to involve the Athenians in designs the most extravagant, dangerous, and unjust. Chares was a person every way qualified and proper for an undertaking of this nature. He had a martial appearance, was blunt in his address, of great valour, but of a selfish ahd ambitious disposition. He was of a gigantic stature, and robust in his person; his voice was commanding and his manners haughty He asserted positively, and promised boldly, and his presumption is said to have been so great, that it concealed his incapacity and defect of knowledge not only from others, but from himself. Though Chares was an enterprising and successful partisan, he was extremely deficient in the great duties of a general. His imperfections appear more striking and palpable, when we compare his abilities and conduct with those of Timotheus and Iphicrates his contemporaries.

These two Athenian commanders prevailed by address as much as by force. They secured their conquests to the republic, by the wisdom, moderation, and justice with which they had been acquired, and with which they still continued

nued to be governed. Chares proposed a very different mode of administration: he advised his countrymen to plunder the wealth of their colonies and allies, that they might supply the defects of their treasury, and purchase those pleasures which they considered as essential to their happiness. This counsel was too pleasing not to be faithfully obeyed. The vexations anciently exercised against the allied and dependent states were again renewed, and, if possible, exceeded. They, whose weakness left them no other resource than complaints for avenging their injuries, preferred many remonstrances against their rapacity and oppression; but the larger and more populous islands of Chios, Coos, and Rhodes, together with the city of Byzantium, made preparations for revolting, and mutually engaged to assist one another in procuring liberty and independence.

Chares, who was the adviser, and probably also the chief instrument of those measures which occasioned the revolt, was ordered with a numerous army against Chios, whilst a powerful fleet under the command of Chabrias was also commanded to be prepared for the same station. Accordingly, the troops being put on board the ships, the armament sailed towards that island, with an intention of seizing the capital. The confederate revolters, informed of the preparations making against Chios, had already drawn all their forces thither: the island was besieged by sea and land, but defended with great bravery. Chares found it difficult to repel or withstand the sallies of the enemy; and Chabrias endeavoured to enter the harbour with his fleet; but his own ship was the only

B.C. 358.

only one that penetrated thus far. Chabrias was immediately surrounded: he might, however, have saved himself by swimming to the Athenian fleet, as many of his companions did; but, through a mistaken sense of honour, this gallant commander would not forsake the vessel intrusted to him by the republic. He therefore preferred an honourable death to a disgraceful life, and was slain by the Chians, fighting bravely.

The confederates, encouraged by this first onset against an enemy that had affected to despise them, increased their fleet, and ravaged the isles of Lemnos and Samos. The Athenians, indignant at their conduct, and displeased that the territories of their faithful allies should fall a prey to the depredations of rebels, fitted out another squadron early the next year, and gave the command of it to Mnesthius, the son of Iphicrates, and son-in-law of Timotheus. They expected that the new commander would respectfully listen to the advice of those great men, who were perhaps averse from acting any principal part in an expedition where Chares possessed a share of authority. The two Athenian armaments united in the Hellespont, whither Chares had sailed, after raising the siege of Chios. The fleet now amounted to one hundred and twenty sail; and, that they might constrain the enemy to abandon their designs against Lemnos and Samos, the Athenian commanders immediately directed their course towards Byzantium, to which city they proposed to lay siege. This expedient was successful: the allies from those islands collected their whole naval strength, and with all their force bore away for Byzantium.

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The two fleets being in sight of each other, prepared to engage: in the mean time, however, a sudden and violent storm arose, which rendered it impossible for the Athenian armament to bear up to the enemy, or even to continue at sea, without being exposed to the danger of shipwreck. Chares alone demanded that the fleet should sail and engage the enemy. The other commanders, who had more prudence and experience, perceived the disadvantage, and declined the unequal danger. His impetuosity being overruled by the opinion of his colleagues, Chares became enraged and furious: he called the soldiers and sailors to witness their opposition, and that he was not culpable for the inactivity of the fleet. He therefore took the first opportunity of sending messengers to Athens, who accused his colleagues of incapacity, cowardice, and total want of duty; and this accusation was supported by venal orators in his pay.

Timotheus and Iphicrates were accordingly tried for their lives: the former trusted to his innocence and eloquence for procuring his acquittal; but the latter, afraid that the integrity of his conduct and the force of his arguments would avail little, made use of a different expedient. The targeteers, or light infantry, whom Iphicrates had raised, disciplined, and long commanded, were held in great repute. The name of their general had occasioned their being called the *Iphicratesian* troops. To Iphicrates they owed their merit and their fame, and to whom, notwithstanding the severe discipline that he exercised, they were attached by the ties of gratitude and esteem. He commanded the youngest and most warlike of the band to attend him on his trial.

trial. Accordingly they obeyed with alacrity the injunction of their general, surrounded the benches of the magistrates, and took every opportunity to shew the points of their daggers.

By the law of Athens, after the preliminaries of the trial had been adjusted, and the judges assembled, the parties were heard, and the trial was begun and finished the same day; nor could any accused person be twice tried for the same crime. Both these were favourable to Iphicrates. The magistrates, seeing the danger to which they were exposed, were overawed by the troops. They were obliged to come to an immediate decision; but they did not inflict the punishment of death upon the generals, as had been expected. They had a large pecuniary fine imposed on them, which no Athenian citizen could at that time pay. Those illustrious and unfortunate commanders were therefore compelled to go into banishment. Timotheus went first to Chalcis in Eubœa, and then to the isle of Lemnos, both which places his valour and abilities had recovered for his ungrateful country. That he should make choice of them for his residence in banishment, evinces the mildness of his government, and his moderation in prosperity.

Iphicrates having formerly married the daughter of Cotys, a very considerable prince of Thessaly, travelled into that country, and there resided in obscurity. Both these illustrious characters died in banishment; nor did either of them ever return to the service of their country. The social war, therefore, destroyed or removed three of the best generals that Greece possessed, and, if we except the brave and honest Phocion, the last venerable remains of Athenian virtue.

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By the removal of Iphicrates and Timotheus from the command, Chares found himself at liberty to act in any manner he should think proper, without the controul of superior councils. Had he been a person of abilities, and sufficiently virtuous to have withstood the corruption and bribery of Artabazus, the wealthy satrap of Ionia, he might have advanced, in a very considerable degree, the interest and power of Athens in the Hellespont. But his insatiable avarice had rendered him obnoxious to many of the Athenians; and his want of capacity and care as a general made him become the contempt and ridicule of the allies. He neglected the discipline of his army almost totally; and never once thought of reducing the rebels, but passed his time in the company of singers, dancers, and harlots, whose luxury and extravagance consumed the greatest part of the supplies raised for the exigency of the war.

Artabazus having revolted from the allegiance of Artaxerxes Ochus, the most detestable tyrant that ever disgraced the throne of Persia, sought, by the promise of large sums of money, the assistance and protection of the Athenian chief. Chares therefore, that he might satisfy the clamours of the soldiers, and without regarding the treaties subsisting between Persia and Athens, marched his army to co-operate with the troops of the Persian rebel, whom he effectually relieved, and received a reward suitable to his services. The Athenians, as soon as they received the intelligence that Chares had obtained a signal victory over the troops of Artaxerxes, gave great demonstrations of joy,

and extolled the general as the greatest of patriots.

But a messenger soon after arriving from the Persian monarch, their false joy immediately vanished. This ambassador complained loudly of the infraction of peace between the two countries, and threatened the Athenians, that if they did not instantly withdraw their troops from Asia, the allies should be assisted by Artaxerxes with a fleet of three hundred sail. This just menace, the want of successful operations against the confederates, and a still more important reason, which will remain to be explained hereafter, obliged the Athenians to recal their troops from
B.C. 356. Asia, and to conclude a treaty of peace with the allies, without having realized one object for which the war had been expressly undertaken. The confederates made good their claims to liberty and independence; and continued for twenty years free from the oppressions of subsidies and contingents, until they submitted, with the rest of Greece, to the intrigues and arms of Philip, and to the irresistible power of the Macedonians.

CHAP. XV.

Affairs of Greece and Macedonia, from the Conclusion of the Social War, until the Birth of Alexander.

IT has been already observed, in the former part of this history, that Caranus founded the kingdom of Macedonia. He was an Argive by birth, a descendant of Hercules, and, eluding the dangers that proved fatal to royalty in the several communities of Greece, conducted thither a colony of his warlike and enterprising countrymen. Having conquered the barbarous natives, he settled in Edessa, at that time the capital of Emathia, since called Macedonia, but for what reason is unknown. The gods, it is said, had the protection of the kingdom of Macedonia, and, directed by the oracles, Caranus followed a herd of goats to his new capital of Edessa, which for that reason he called Ægæ, or the city of the goats. This fiction would be very unworthy of narration, did it not explain the reason why goats were used as the ensigns of Macedonia, and why the coins of Philip and of his successors were struck with the figures of this animal.

B.C. 795.

This small principality, which afterwards grew into so powerful a kingdom under the reign of Philip, and became under that of his son Alexander the most extensive empire known in the ancient world, was bounded on the east by the Ægean sea, on the south by Thessaly and Epirus, on the west by the Adriatic, or Ionian sea, and on the north by the river Strymon and the

 Scardian

Scardian mountains. The circumference of this territory did not at first exceed three miles.

Caranus, and the princes Cænus and Thyrimas, who immediately succeeded him, had more frequent occasion to use their prudence than their valour. The Grecian colony might, in its infant state, have fallen an easy prey to its barbarous and warlike neighbours, by whom it was every way surrounded; but the conduct of its first kings, instead of attempting to repel or subdue by force of arms, endeavoured rather to gain and secure by good offices the kindness of the inhabitants of Emathia, and of the neighbouring districts. They are said to have communicated to them the knowledge of the useful arts, and the religion and government of the Greeks, in all that happy state of simplicity which prevailed during the heroic ages; and whilst they, in some degree, adopted the language and manners of the barbarian natives, they also imparted to the latter a tincture of the language and the civility of Greece. It is very probable, therefore, that this liberal and enlightened policy, so unlike the conduct of the other Grecian colonies and states, laid the foundation of that greatness and power which Macedonia afterwards acquired.

B.C. 691. Perdiccas, the first monarch of that name, was a person of great abilities, and of an enterprising spirit. He extended his dominion so much, and his fame so far eclipsed that of his predecessors, that Herodotus and Thucydides have reckoned him the founder of the Macedonian monarchy. His actions have been greatly magnified by fable, which happened also to those of the five succeeding kings. It

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B.C. 481. is not, however, till we arrive at the reign of Alexander the first, who filled the Macedonian throne during the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, that we attain historical ground. Alexander took an important and honourable part in the Persian invasion; but he did not neglect the affairs of Macedonia. He extended the boundaries of that kingdom to the river Nessus on the east, and to the Axius on the west.

Perdiccas the second, the son of Alexander, succeeded to the throne of his father. In the beginning of his reign, he discovered such prudence and penetration, that he seemed to inherit his father's abilities. This he did not disprove in any succeeding part of his life; but though he possessed the abilities, he had not the integrity of Alexander. During the Peloponnesian war, Perdiccas took an important part in the affairs of Greece, and, on account of his hatred to the Athenians, the ancient and constant enemies of his kingdom, allied himself with the Lacedæmonian commonwealth. The Spartan and Macedonian armies being united, proceeded to the attack of several towns in the Chalcidica. These cities were at that time allied with, or dependent on, the republic of Athens; and, by subverting the dominion of that state in the Chalcidican territory, he hoped to extend and secure the influence of Macedonia: in this, however, Perdiccas was mistaken. Some differences arising between the Lacedæmonian general and the Macedonian monarch, the Olynthian confederacy was broken and destroyed; its members became subject to Sparta; and, when that state was reduced by the calamities of war, the Olynthians

thians found themselves sufficiently powerful not only to resist the encroachments of Macedon, but to attempt and acquire very considerable conquests in that country.

On the death of Perdiccas, his son, Archelaus the first, succeeded to the throne. He was a prince of great ability and indefatigable diligence. The liberal and enlightened policy he displayed was much more beneficial to his kingdom, than the courage of Alexander, or the craft of Perdiccas. Like them, he was ambitious of extending the reputation and power of the Macedonian monarchy, and accordingly laid siege to and reduced Pydna, with several other towns in the delightful region of Pieria. He did not, however, pursue his conquests so much for obtaining dominion, as that he might cultivate and improve his acquisitions. He commanded roads to be cut through most parts of the country, that a communication might be facilitated between the several towns of Macedon; and he built walls and fortifications in those places which seemed most subservient to his purpose. He was a great encourager of agriculture and the arts, particularly of those that relate to war. He raised and disciplined a very considerable army; and, in a word, performed more than all his predecessors, in aggrandizing and strengthening the Macedonian monarchy.

Archelaus also cherished the milder arts of peace. He was greatly distinguished for his love of learning and learned men; and his palace was adorned by the works of the Grecian painters. Euripides, the tragic poet, was his guest for some time, and lived in the greatest intimacy with this monarch. Socrates also was strongly

strongly solicited to take up his abode at the court of Archelaus, where he might continue the friendship that had subsisted between him and Euripides, whose sentiments had been formed by that philosopher. In short, the accomplished Archelaus invited men of merit and genius, in all the various walks of literature and of science, to take up their abode at Macedon; and the monarch, studious of promoting his own glory and the interests of his kingdom, treated them with distinguished regard.

After the death of Archelaus, who is said to have been murdered by a conspirator, the throne was filled successively with ten princes or usurpers whose history is principally filled with crimes and calamities. The sceptre, however, never departed from the house of Hercules, though almost every person of the blood was desirous of reigning. They expelled one another from the throne; and the rival candidates courted alternately the assistance of Illyria, Thrace, Thessaly, Olynthus, Athens, Sparta, and Thebes. These cities failed not to aim at improving the dissensions of Macedonia to their own immediate advantage. Bardyllis, an active and daring chieftain, that had risen from a private person to the command of the Illyrian tribes, being instigated by Argæus, who consented to become tributary to him, entered the Macedonian territory with a powerful army, and deposed Amyntas. Argæus reigned about two years, at the expiration of which, the Thessalians furnishing the exiled prince with an army, he marched against the usurper, and compelled him to retire.

Amyntas was, however, no sooner re-established on his throne, than he found himself at

war

war with the Olynthians, who had seized, and refuse to surrender, several places in his dominion. The Macedonian king, therefore, sent to request the assistance of Sparta, and that republic procured him the restoration of the territory that was unjustly detained. This circumstance we have already had occasion to notice.

Alexander, the son of Amyntas, succeeded his father in the kingdom. His reign was of short duration, but was, nevertheless, disturbed by an invasion of the Illyrians. He left two brothers, Perdiccas and Philip, the elder of whom was a minor. Pausanias claimed the kingdom, and was on the point of obtaining it, when, at this critical juncture, arrived Iphicrates, the Athenian, from Amphipolis, the recovery of which had formed the principal cause of his expedition. In other journeys to the coast of Thrace, the Athenian commander had always been treated with respect by Amyntas, whose widow Eurydice now implored his assistance against the usurper Pausanias; and Iphicrates, moved by her tears and intreaties, espoused her cause, and deposed Pausanias.

During the minority of the young prince, the kingdom was governed by his natural brother Ptolemy, whose ambition refused to be satisfied with a delegated power. This usurper (as we have related above) was deposed by the Thebans under the command of Pelopidas; and Perdiccas reinstated in the kingdom. To secure their dependence on Thebes, thirty youths were carried as hostages to that city, in the number of whom was the afterwards renowned Philip, king of Macedon.

Perdiccas seemed to glory in the chain. The friendly

friendly interposition of the Athenians was forgotten; and the protection of the Thebans, at that time in the zenith of their prosperity, only remembered. He therefore seized the opportunity of disputing the right of the Athenians to the city of Amphipolis, which had been acknowledged by the general council of Greece; and his opposition rendered fruitless their well directed endeavours to recover that important establishment. But Bardyllis, the Illyrian, avenged the wrongs of Athens on the ungrateful Macedonian. Perdiccas refused to continue the tribute, which had been paid to that chief, during the reigns of Argæus and Alexander. Bardyllis, therefore prepared to exact his claim by force of arms. A general engagement ensued, in which the Macedonians were defeated, with the loss of four thousand men; and Perdiccas being taken prisoner, died soon after of the wounds he received in the battle. His son Amyntas was only in his infancy. At this time, Thebes had lost by the death of Epaminondas, that superiority in Greece, which, during the life of that illustrious Theban she had acquired. Athens had great reason for being hostile; and Macedon, surrounded by foes on every side, already experienced the calamities inflicted by barbaric fury.

Not only the Illyrians and Bardyllis, who entered and laid waste the western part of Macedon, but the Pœonians, a warlike tribe, endeavoured to revenge the injuries received from Perdiccas. The Thracians still made attempts to replace Pausanias on the throne of Macedon. Argæus, who had been driven from the usurpation, emboldened by the success of the Illyrians,

renewed

renewed his pretensions. He prevailed on the Athenians, who still felt themselves hurt by the opposition they had experienced from Macedon relative to Amphipolis, to exert themselves in his favour. The Athenians, therefore sent a fleet against that kingdom, on board of which were three thousand heavy-armed men commanded by Mantias.

Such was the calamitous situation of public affairs in Macedonia, when Philip appeared, undismayed by the evils which threatened the kingdom and the throne, he boldly asserted the right of his infant nephew, against the claims of two competitors, and the opposition of four formidable armies. A prince of less courage than Philip would never have formed a design so apparently desperate and impracticable. Something more than courage, however, was requisite, to give success to the enterprize; and Philip displayed those wonderful resources in his twenty third year, which appeared in every subsequent part of his life. His reign is the most interesting in the page of history, to those, who, surveying not the vulgar revolutions occasioned by force, are delighted with viewing the active energies of a great and comprehensive mind. He had lain in obscurity until the death of his brother, and it is now unknown where his residence had always been. He had lived, however, chiefly in Thebes, from the age of fifteen, and being lodged in the house of Epaminondas, whose lessons and example could not fail of exciting in a kindred mind, the emulation of excellence and the ardour of patriotism. He studied the character of that illustrious Theban, and united indefatigable

B.C. 360.

gable activity to a firm and steady conduct. It is not improbable that he sometimes accompanied Epaminondas to the camp; certain, however, it is, that he visited the several republics of Greece, whose civil and military institutions he examined, with a sagacity that far surpassed his years.

The tactics of the Lacedæmonians were the first establishment that he introduced into Macedonia; but it was not in the acquisition of knowledge only that the travels of Philip were useful to him. As the brother of Perdiccas, the Macedonian monarch, he was every where received with kindness, and found an easy access to those whom he considered it his interest to know and cultivate. He visited Athens, at that time hostile to his country and to his family; but even there met with a favourable reception, and was introduced to the company of Plato, Aristotle, and Isocrates, whose friendship and esteem he acquired. To the connections which he formed in Athens and other Grecian states, may probably be ascribed, in a great measure, the success of his future undertakings.

The appearance of Philip in Macedon gave a new turn to the complexion of affairs; but whilst we admire his conduct and abilities, we ought not to overlook those circumstances, which conspired in enabling him, in so little time, to subdue or appease the many domestic and foreign enemies with which he was surrounded. The fortified places of Achelaus furnished a safe and secure retreat to the remains of Perdiccas's army, after the engagement with the Illyrians. The Macedonians though conquered, were far from being

being subdued. In the fortresses and places of strength, which were in every part of the kingdom, were very considerable garrisons. The whole force of Macedonia had not, as yet, engaged the enemy; and the Illyrians, intent only upon plunder, having ravaged and laid waste the open country, without meeting any formidable opposition, returned home laden with spoil. They probably, however, meant to assault Macedonia with still greater numbers, and to complete their conquest and devastations; but though distinguished for their strength and courage, they seem not to have acted in concert; and the desultory mode which they pursued was inimical to their views and interests.

The inhabitants of Pœonia and Thrace were were less ignorant and untractable. In former periods, the Pœonians were considered as superior in every respect, to their Macedonian neighbours: but the Grecian colony that had occupied the territory of the latter, had produced a surprising change, and greatly meliorated the condition of its inhabitants; whilst the former, on the contrary, remained stationary, and made no advances from ignorance and barbarism to knowledge and more refined modes of life. Very little more than half a century before this, Macedonia indeed was scarcely superior to any of the numerous and barbarous hordes that infested the neighbourhood. Of the Thracians we have had occasion to speak in another part of this work. The ravages of Seuthes represent the country as unsettled and inhospitable. They were generally under the command of many chiefs, who, carrying on mutual hostilities, banished agricul-

ture,

ture, industry, and every useful art. They had neither cities nor towns in their territory, except a few Grecian settlements on the coast.

Such was the condition of those, whom Philip found as enemies, when he stood forward to claim and maintain the rights of his infant nephew. The Illyrians, actuated by irresolute and unsteady councils, evacuated the territory, and returned into their own country. He sent ministers to the Pæonians, who, partly by bribes, and partly by promises, prevailed on that rude people to retire from Macedonia; and by the same arts, he persuaded the Thracian chief, who appeared on behalf of Pausanias, to relinquish his claim and leave the kingdom.

In the mean time, the Athenians, who had espoused the cause of the banished Argæus, anchored with their fleet before the harbour of Methone. The forces of Argæus were encamped on the plain, and the exiled monarch, having united his forces with the Athenians, prepared to march to Edessa, the capital of the kingdom, where he expected to be joined by a very powerful party, whom fear or inclination would allure to his standard. The Macedonians, who interested themselves in the cause of the infant Amyntas, had become dispirited by the defeat they had suffered from the Illyrians, and the consequent events of that battle; but the manly exhortations of Philip, together with the fearless deportment he exhibited, animated their minds, and roused them from their despair. They admired the finesse by which he had removed the Pæonians and Thracians out of the kingdom, and disarmed their resentment.

The insinuating address and winning affability of

of Philip, together with the gracefulness of his person, procured him the affections of the people; and the superstition of the Macedonians was wrought upon to forward his purposes. Verses, said to have been composed many years before, were handed about, in which Philip was mentioned as the author of Macedonian greatness. These Sybilline oracles were considered as authentic and sacred by the credulous multitude, who believed that they foretold the great glory that should result to their nation by the reign of the son of Amyntas. Under these impressions, an assembly was convened at Ægæ, and the people unanimously declared, "Philip is the man, whom the gods have announced as the founder of the Macedonian greatness: the difficulty and turbulence of the times, admit not of having an infant monarch; let us then obey the dictates of heaven, and of the present dangers, and make choice of a man to wield the sceptre who is worthy to possess, and able to defend it." This proposal was immediately acceded to, and Philip, who had hitherto exercised the delegated powers of regent only, was appointed by the suffrages of the people, king of Macedon.

The affections of the Macedonians thus centering in Philip, no other means were left to Argæus for attempting the recovery of the kingdom, than the force of arms. He, therefore, marched with the Athenian auxiliaries, and arrived at Edessa; but the inhabitants shut the gates, and refused to admit him into their city. Dispirited by this repulse, he made no farther attempts to obtain possession of any other of the Macedonian cities, but returned with his army to Methone. Philip, who was now enabled to take the field with

his

his troops, pursued the retreating army, whom he harrassed extremely, and afterwards defeated with great slaughter in a general engagement. This action revived the spirits of the Macedonian forces, and taught them to confide in the abilities of their youthful monarch. The king, on this occasion, displayed that prudence and moderation which distinguished him from other contemporary chieftains. He allowed the remains of Argæus's army, whether Greeks or barbarians to capitulate.

The proud and lofty spirit of Philip could not but be highly offended by the conduct of the Athenians and the followers of Argæus; and the barbarous maxims which prevailed in that age, gave him full liberty to wreak his vengeance on the unfortunate criminal captives. But he displayed that artful and deceiving policy, which served at first to strengthen and secure him on the throne, and afterwards enabled him to extend his dominions. He saw it to be his interest not to irritate the minds of the Athenians, but to sooth their passions; and to obtain by kindness the affections of those Macedonians which he could not effect by force. The prisoners of the latter nation were commanded to attend him. Having remonstrated against their conduct in meek and gentle terms for attacking the throne of a prince, who had been elected sovereign by the almost unanimous voice of the nation, he admitted them to swear fidelity to his person and government, and then distributed them promiscuously in his army. But the Athenian prisoners were treated in a still more extraordinary and friendly manner. They received their baggage unexamined and unopened;

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they were entertained at the table of Philip with condescending hospitality; and restored to their country without a ransom.

This conduct of the artful monarch had the desired effect. The Athenian soldiers returned home applauding and admiring the behaviour of Philip, and persuaded that the young king entertained great attachment and respect for their republic. Scarcely had they time to blaze forth the praises and disinterestedness of the Macedonian monarch, when ambassadors arrived from Philip at Athens, who renounced, in his name, all jurisdiction over Amphipolis, and declared, that henceforth it should be a free and independent city, and subject only to the government of its own laws. This measure tended greatly to hasten a peace between the two countries; for though the Athenians derived much advantage from their colonies and conquests in Thrace and Macedon, yet the unavoidable expences of maintaining armies in those parts, greatly discouraged them, and inclined them to an accommodation, wherever it could be done with honour. The terms proposed by Philip, together with his recent treatment of the Athenian prisoners, ensured the success of his embassy. A peace was concluded on the basis of a treaty formerly made between the Athenians and his father Amyntas. Thus was that capricious and unsteady people lulled into security, at a time when, having again obtained the sovereignty of Greece, their present power and ancient glory urged them to take an active and superior part against the designs of the Macedonian monarch. An opinion that the power of Philip was feeble and insecure, induced them to confide in a treaty insidious and dangerous;

gerous; and they engaged in a war with their allies, which terminated, as we have seen, in ruin and infamy.

The young king having by means of these able negociations settled and tranquillized the state of the kingdom, began to establish such institutions as might extend his own power, and confirm the greatness of Macedon. The laws and maxims of the heroic ages, which, as we have observed already, were introduced into that kingdom at a very early period, greatly circumscribed the regal power. The principal persons of the state regarded themselves, not as the subjects, but as the rivals, or at least the equals, of their king. They followed, indeed, the standard of their sovereign during war; but they frequently shook with sedition the throne of the prince. The moment of success appeared most likely for acquiring what seemed necessary in the government of the kingdom, and for extinguishing that proud and dangerous spirit, which too often thwarted the measures of the sovereign.

Philip, therefore, proceeding with his usual policy and intrigue, selected from the bravest of the Macedonian youth a body of companions, whom he distinguished by honourable appellations. He constantly entertained them at his table, and they attended his person in the exercises of war and of the chase. The intimacy to which they were admitted with the sovereign, they regarded as a conspicuous proof of their merit and abilities, and by those means were excited to superior diligence in the occupation and duties of a military life. The noble youth animated with the hope of glory and renown, vied with each other in obtaining this distinguished

 privilege:

privilege: they served as hostages to Philip for the allegiance and loyalty of the principal families in Macedonia; and they formed that seminary for excellent generals, which produced those commanders, who after having assisted Philip and Alexander to conquer, at length obtained for themselves, and divided the spoils of the ancient world.

It has been asserted by some writers, that Philip invented, in the first year of his reign, the Macedonian phalanx, a body of six thousand men with short swords proper for cutting or thrusting; with strong bucklers four feet long, and two and a half broad; and with pikes fourteen cubits in length. This body of troops, however, did not differ in their form and arrangement from the phalanx that had been hitherto in use among the Greeks, and which Philip only adopted in its most perfect manner. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Philip, who was sensible of the difficulty and danger of changing what custom had so long established, made any alteration in the weapons or tactics of Macedonia. He employed his time more usefully and judiciously, by procuring arms, horses, and soldiers; by reviewing and disciplining the forces of his kingdom; and by enuring them to that austerity and labour which alone can produce men capable of enduring the fatigues of a military life.

Having thus prepared for taking the field whenever an opportunity presented itself, his ambition was not suffered to be long unemployed. The death of Agis, king of the Pæonians, which happened about this time, was no sooner known by Philip, than he determined to embrace the occasion

casion of revenging the insults and injuries which those barbarians had inflicted on Macedon. Amongst a people who have never been accustomed to obey the laws of peace or war, almost every things depends on the uncertain character of their leader. Agis being dead, and no chief appearing to check his progress, Philip invaded their country, attacked their cities, and reduced them to such extremities, that they were under the necessity of submitting to the conqueror; and Pæonia became an absolute dependence on Macedonia.

It is very probable that Philip permitted, according to the practice of the age, such a number of Pæonians to follow his standard. His invasion of Pæonia being so successfully terminated, he undertook a winter's campaign against Bardyllis and the Illyrians, the hereditary enemies of his family and his kingdom. Accordingly, with an army of ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse, he marched towards the frontiers of Illyria. Before, however, he entered the enemy's country, he made a speech to his soldiers, after the custom of the Greeks, whose example and manners he was always desirous of imitating. The indignation of past injuries, the honour of subjects, and the glory of his crown, were the topics which Philip selected and enforced, for animating the valour and the resentment of his troops. Nor could he have chosen more suitable subjects, since the Macedonian soldiers were unable to comprehend the more refined, and more secret motives, of the artful monarch.

The Illyrian chief had extended his dominion on the east, to the injury of Macedonia, which was thereby totally excluded from the harbours

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of the Adriatic. Philip, who had early meditated the design of raising a naval power, considered this as an insupportable evil. He had also in view the conquest and subjugation of others of the neighbouring states; but whilst the Illyrians were so powerful and formidable, he could not leave his country without exposing it to their predatory incursions: nor without conquering this warlike race, could he ever expect to accomplish the great designs which he had already formed. Directed by such solid principles of policy, rather than governed by resentment, or allured by the hopes of victory, Philip proceeded with the caution necessary for executing this enterprize with success.

Bardyllis offered to treat with Philip, on the condition that each should be allowed to retain what he at present possessed. Philip answered, that he always preferred peace to war, but that he could not think of preserving it, by quitting his claim to those places which were in the hands of the Illyrians. Upon this refusal, both sides prepared for an engagement: Bardyllis met the enemy in the field with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse; but the precise scene of the engagement is unknown. The Macedonian phalanx attacked the enemy's column in front, whilst the targeteers and light-armed troops galled its flank, and the cavalry harassed its rear. The engagement was obstinate and bloody, and had not the Macedonian horse attacked them in the rear, the victory had probably been on the side of the Illyrians. The resistance, however, of Bardyllis and his forces must have been extremely great, since seven thousand of them were left dead on the field of battle, in the number of whom

whom was the Illyrian chief, who fell, at the age of ninety, fighting bravely on horseback at the head of his troops.

By the loss of the experienced Bardyllis, and of the flower of their youthful warriors, the strength and courage of the Illyrian tribes were completely broken. They accordingly sent a deputation to Philip, and purchased peace at the expence not only of their conquests, but of all their possessions, independence, and liberty. Philip imposed upon them the same conditions to which the Pæonians had been obliged to submit. Part of their country which lies on the east of the lake of Lychnidus, was annexed to the territory of Macedonia; and such was the ascendency which the arms and policy of Philip had already acquired, that the inhabitants of the intermediate district soon adopted the language and the manners of the Macedonians.

Philip having settled the affairs of Illyria, returned to Macedonia, but not with a design of enjoying ease and repose. He had in view more important conquests than those which had hitherto employed his arms. He had already extended his dominion on the northern and western frontier of Macedonia; but the Greeks who inhabited the rich and fruitful shores on the southern extremity of his kingdom, presented a more tempting prize, though a much more formidable enemy. The Olynthian confederacy which had disdained the yoke of Sparta, was become far more powerful: it was able to send into the field ten thousand heavy-armed men, and a large body of disciplined cavalry. Most of the principal towns of the Chalcidica had joined Olynthus either as allies or subjects. This populous and

and wealthy province, with Pangæus on the right, and Pieria on the left, the cities of both which were independent or subject to the Athenians, might be considered as sufficient for guarding the Grecian states against the encroachments of Macedon, or perhaps even of subduing that kingdom.

Every motive that could impel the active policy of Philip to aim at the subjugation of those places, seemed to concur. They were acquisitions not only immediately necessary in themselves, but essential to the completion of his remote but ambitious designs. In the course of twenty years we shall behold this artful and ambitious monarch fully accomplishing his purpose, and conquering Greece. Frequently was he obliged to alter his means, but he never changed his end; and notwithstanding the many adverse circumstances and events which arose to thwart his ambitious projects, we see in the conduct and actions of the Macedonian monarch the opening and gradual progress of a vast plan, every step of which made way for that which was to follow, until the whole was terminated and perfected, and the greatest triumph attained that human prudence, perhaps ever achieved over courage and fortune.

But though the acquisition of Olynthus was of great and incalculable advantage to Philip for executing with success the arduous design in which he was engaged, the importance of Amphipolis attracted his first attention. The possession of Amphipolis would connect the territory of Macedonia with the sea, and thereby give the means of raising a naval force, which would lead the way to trade and commerce. It

would

would also open a road to the woods and mines of mount Pangæus, the former of which might be essentially useful in the building of ships, and the latter in forming and keeping up a sufficient military force. Philip, as we have seen, had made it a free and independent city, that he might avoid a rupture with Athens; and though the Athenians still claimed their ancient and indisputable right over it, they had never been able to acquire possession of it. They determined, however, to renew their attempts for recovering the city, while the Amphipolitans having experienced the happiness of liberty, used every exertion to render them fruitless.

In this situation of affairs, the new republic began to entertain suspicions of the designs of Philip, which all his artifice had not been able to conceal. The Amphipolitans, therefore, made application to the Olynthians, and requested that they might be admitted into their confederacy. This was immediately granted, and the protection of their city promised them. Emboldened by this alliance, they began equally to defy the menaces of Macedonia and of Athens. Philip, who wanted nothing more than some specious grounds for commencing hostilities with the Amphipolitans, was soon furnished by their imprudent insolence with the desired pretext. The Olynthians perceived that the vengeance of Philip would speedily be inflicted on their new allies, and thereby involve them in the common ruin. To prevent this danger, while there still remained time and means for obviating it, the Olynthians sent a deputation to Athens, requesting the alliance of that republic against Philip, who was the natural enemy of both states, and whose

whose hitherto successful activity, if not seasonably checked, threatened the destruction of every neighbonring kingdom.

The Macedonian monarch was well aware of the importance of this alliance, and sensible that he could not contend with any hopes of success against the united efforts of Olynthus and Athens. He was, therefore, no sooner apprised of the intentions of the confederates, than he sent ministers also to Athens, to counteract and repel the danger with which he was threatened. His agents reached that city before any thing was concluded relative to Olynthus. The popular leaders and orators were won over to their party by bribes; and the magistrates and senate were flattered and deceived by plausible but deceitful declarations. The emissaries of Philip promised that the king would deliver up Amphipolis to the Athenians after he had conquered it, provided they would surrender to him Pydna, a place of much less importance. To these conditions the Athenian magistrates consented; the possession of Amphipolis appeared to them a great object, and they were elated with the hopes of recovering this important place, and with the secret promises of the deceitful monarch. This business required such haste in the dispatch, that the assembly of the people was never convened to deliberate upon it. The senate of five hundred disdainfully rejected the overtures of the Olynthians, who returned home disgusted and indignant at the reception their proposals met with.

They had scarcely time to communicate to their countrymen the unsuccessful issue of their mission, and the indignation they felt on account

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of the behaviour of the Athenians, before ambassadors arrived at Olynthus from the Macedonian king. They immediately craved an audience, and pretended to condole with the Olynthians on the ill success of their overtures, and the affront they had received from the Athenians; but they affected surprize that the Olynthians should condescend to court the protection and alliance of a distant and proud republic, when Philip, who was so near and could speedily assist them in any emergency, wished for nothing more than to become their ally, and to be admitted a member of their confederacy.

In confirmation of his sincerity, the Macedonian monarch immediately put into their possession Anthemus, a town of considerable importance in their neighbourhood, but which had been always claimed by the kings of Macedon; and that he might seem farther deserving of their gratitude, he promised much more important services; and, in particular, that Pydna and Potidæa, which commanded the opposite sides of the Thermaic gulph, and belonged to the Athenians, should be attacked by his troops, and if reduced, become the dependent cities of Olynthus.

These proposals of Philip, who was never more sincere than his interest required, together with the influence of some of the principal persons in Olynthus, produced the desired effect; and the Amphipolitans, who were at no pains to suppress the offences and complaints which frequently and naturally arise between the jealous members of an unequal confederacy, had the mortification and grief to see their cause abandoned by their allies. Thus did the intriguing Macedonian not only remove all opposition to his

his views from the Olynthians, but induce that people to become his sincere friend and ally. When nothing remained, therefore, to oppose his designs, Philip prepared for action. He marched an army with great celerity towards Amphipolis, and vigorously besieged that place. In their emergency the inhabitants dispatched Hierox and Stratocles to Athens, who were commanded to represent to that republic the danger which threatened the Athenians from an alliance between Philip and the Olynthians. They concluded by intreating, that the Athenians would forgive the errors of their unfortunate colony, and once more grant the wretched Amphipolitans the protection of their fleet.

When they made their submission to the Athenian republic, that state was deeply engaged in the social war; and could therefore scarcely be supposed to give proper attention to the requests of the Amphipolitans, and to grant that speedy and powerful assistance which was necessary to protect their city against the designs of Philip. It is not, however, improbable, that the Athenians would have used their endeavours for recovering so important and valuable a settlement, had not the policy of the Macedonian monarch defeated any intention of this nature. He sent them a letter, in which he renewed the assurances of his friendship, acknowledged the justice of their pretensions to the city, which he actually besieged, and artfully declared, that according to the engagement subsisting between them, he hoped in a little time to put it into their hands.

The Athenians again amused and deceived by the false representations of Philip, behaved with as little respect to the ambassadors of Amphipolis,

lis, as they had formerly done to those of Olynthus. The besieged being thus deprived of all hopes of relief, Philip pressed the attack with redoubled vigour: a breach was made in the walls; and the Amphipolitans, after defending themselves with great resolution, which tended only to increase the resentment of the assailants, were compelled at length to surrender their city at the discretion of the conqueror.

B. C. 358.

Philip, whose actions were always correspondent with his interest and ambition, considered that it would be more profitable to preserve and aggrandize, than depopulate and destroy Amphipolis. Some few of the inhabitants, who had betrayed a seditious or patriotic spirit, and appeared likely to disturb the tranquillity of the new government, were banished the city; but the bulk of the citizens were treated with great lenity. The territory was reunited to Macedonia, and Philip, notwithstanding the promises he had made the Athenians, resolved that it should never come into their possession.

Having thus obtained the acquisition of this important settlement, and knowing the indignation which would be excited against him in Athens, by retaining it in his hands, he determined to cultivate, in good earnest, the friendship of the Olynthian confederacy. For that reason he besieged and took Pydna and Potidæa, which were garrisoned by Athenians, and ceded them to Olynthus, which had afforded very feeble assistance in the reduction of those cities. Philip, in the whole transaction, affected to act only in the capacity of an auxiliary. The Potidæan garri-

son who had surrendered themselves prisoners of war, he took under his immediate protection; and without receiving any recompence for their ransom, he dismissed them, and feignedly lamented, that on account of the necessity of his affairs, and his alliance with the Olynthians, he was obliged to act contrary to his wishes, and to oppose their republic, for which he entertained, and should continue to entertain, the most sincere regard.

This artifice of the Macedonian monarch was too gross and palpable to impose even upon the Athenians, weak and credulous as they certainly were; but the social war, whose events became still more interesting and alarming, prevented them from turning their arms against his usurpations. The possession of Amphipolis gave him an opportunity to pursue his conquest in the territories of Thrace, to which the present situation of Athens could afford no obstacle. He had been induced by the alarming posture of affairs in Macedon, at the commencement of his reign, to purchase a peace with Cotys, the king of that country. Cotys, in consequence of his connection with Iphicrates, the Athenian, who married his daughter, had adopted the religion and manners of the Greeks; but this served only to deprave his faculties, and to clouden his reason. He fancied himself enamoured of the goddess Minerva, and the Greeks, under the idea, that the gods frequently assumed a human shape, treated with tenderness this frantic enthusiasm. He possessed his freedom and his crown, and with his ambulatory court, for it was seldom stationary, traversed the inhospitable regions of

Thrace

Thrace, encamped on the banks of the Strymon or the Nessus, or sought the recesses of the forests that adorned his kingdom.

When the Macedonians appeared in Thrace, Cotys quitted the grove of Onocarsis, the favourite scene of his enjoyment, and sent a letter to Philip to stop the progress of his army. But the Macedonian, without deigning to notice the remonstrances of the Thracian, marched thirty miles east of Amphipolis, and arrived at Crenide, a town situated at the foot of mount Pangæus, and distant ten miles from the sea. Here the principal object that attracted his attention, and on account of which he had marched his army into the Thracian territories, was the gold mines in that neighbourhood. They had formerly belonged to the Thasians and Athenians, who extracted from them great quantities of that precious metal; but after they became the possession of the Thracians, they had been totally neglected.

Philip having expelled those barbarians from the neighbourhood of Crenide, now hoped to extract from the bowels of the earth a treasure sufficient for purchasing that empire, which he so passionately desired. He descended into the mines, and observed the decaying labours of the ancient proprietors. He caused the water to be drained off; the canals which had been broken or choked up, to be re-opened; and the earth was again ransacked for those precious metals, of which Phillip perfectly knew the use. He then established a colony of Macedonians at Crenide, which in honour of its royal master, afterwards assumed the name of Philippi. The revenue arising to the king from these mines amounted to

to a thousand talents, or about two hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum; and the coins struck by his order were also called Philippi.

Having effected the great purpose of his expedition into Thrace, the Macedonian monarch turned his arms towards Thessaly, which, since the murder of Alexander had been governed by three tyrants, Tissiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, who were the brothers-in-law, the assassins, and the successors of Alexander. The Thessalians, who had been greatly oppressed by the tyrants, united their arms with those of Philip, and the usurpers were totally defeated, and reduced to such extremities, that they were afterwards unable to injure their subjects, or their neighbours. The Thessalians were unsteady in their resolutions, and incapable of preserving for a length of time any impressions whatever. They promised in the first emotions of their gratitude, that all the revenue which arose from their fairs, and towns of trade, as well as all the conveniences of their harbours and shipping should belong to Philip. This cession, extraordinary as it may appear, the Macedonian monarch had the address to render effectual and permanent.

During his stay in Thessaly, he contracted an alliance with Arybbas, king of Epirus, a small principality that joined on the Thessalian territory. Whilst he lived at Thebes, Philip had frequently seen Olympias, the sister of Arybbas, whose wit and beauty had made a deep impression on his heart. In the isle of Samothrace, where the triennial festival of Ceres was kept, they had been both initiated, at the same time,

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in the mysteries of that goddess. The ambition of Philip, however, and the activity in which he spent the years immediately succeeding his coming to the throne, had probably banished the remembrance of Olympias from his mind, until his journey into Thessaly. At the first interview, however, he felt his passion revive; and as the kings of Epirus were descendants of the renowned Achilles, the marriage seemed in every respect worthy of him. Accordingly, Arybbas yielding his consent, he conducted the beautiful Olympias into Macedonia.

The solemnities of Philip's marriage were performed at Pella, the capital of his kingdom, with unusual pomp and magnificence. He appropriated several months to religious shows and processions, to gymnastic games and exercises, and to musical and dramatic entertainments. The young and fortunate prince would naturally take a part in these scenes of mirth and festivity; and amidst the more refined amusements of the court, it is not improbable, that Philip would betray that propensity to vicious indulgence in encouraging buffoons and flatterers, and other pandars to his pleasures, which, reflect disgrace on the succeeding years of his reign. The voluptuousness indeed into which Philip sunk after his marriage with Olympias, encouraged the hopes of the neighbouring princes, whom he had before reduced, or in some respect humbled. The Pæonians, Illyrians, and Thracians, united together and made preparations for attacking the Macedonian monarch. The design was concerted with more caution, than is often to be observed among barbarians; and this general confederacy against the interests and strength

strength of Macedonia, might have proved fatal to Philip and his kingdom, had he not been timely informed of the danger by some of his faithful partisans and emissaries in those countries.

As soon as he was made acquainted with the designs which were forming against him, he prepared to take the field early in the ensuing spring, with the flower of the Macedonian troops. Parmenio, a general in whom he placed very great confidence, was sent against the Illyrians, whom he soon reduced to obedience. Philip himself marched an army into Pæonia and Thrace, where he was equally successful. Whilst he was returning from this expedition, a messenger arrived with the news of Parmenio's victory; and soon after came another, informing him that his horses had been victorious at the Olympic games, and gained the prize in the chariot races. This was a victory that he esteemed preferable to any other. It proved him of Grecian extraction, and he ever afterwards had the figure of a chariot impressed on his coins. Almost at the same time, came a third messenger, who acquainted him that his wife Olympias had brought forth a son at Pella. Philip terrified at so signal a happiness, which the heathens generally considered as an omen of some dreadful catastrophe, exclaimed, "Great Jupiter, in return for so many blessings, send me a slight misfortune!"

B. C. 356.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Affairs of Greece and Macedonia, from the Birth of Alexander to the Conclusion of the Sacred War.

IF we may form some idea, in what manner this rapid tide of prosperity acted upon Philip by the first authentic transaction that took place immediately succeeding those events, we shall find that he was not overset by it. Soon after the birth of his son Alexander, Philip wrote a letter to Aristotle the philosopher, whose merit he had early discerned at Athens, whilst he was a disciple of Plato. The letter was couched in the following terms: "Know that a son is born to us. We give thanks to the gods, not so much for their gift, as that it is bestowed during the life of Aristotle. We assure ourselves, that you will form him a prince worthy of his father, and of Macedonia." Aristotle commenced the instruction of Alexander, when the young prince was thirteen years of age, and when he might be supposed capable of understanding and receiving the lessons of that great philosopher, to whom he was unquestionably under the greatest obligations for the cultivation of those talents which nature had given him.

Philip had now been settled five years on the throne of his ancestors. The ancient boundaries of his kingdom were greatly extended and amply secured; but he had much more augmented his revenues. On the north, he had acquired the country of the Pæonians, which had been annexed to his dominions, and might no longer be considered

sidered as a rival, but as an obsequious province of Macedon; and by the territories obtained in Thrace and Illyria, the frontiers of his kingdom were extended on the east, to the sea of Thasos; and on the west to the lake of Lychnidus. The whole of Thessaly was now at his disposal, and he had not the trouble of governing it himself, or of appointing any other person to govern for him. The city of Amphipolis procured him many commercial advantages, and there it was that he hoped to raise such a naval force, as would completely give him the sovereignty of the sea, while the victories of his troops would enable him to acquire the same dominion by land. He had raised such a powerful and numerous army, and had exercised his troops so much in military discipline, that his forces would yield to none in bravery and skill, but were greatly formidable to the rest of their neighbours for their numbers, their courage, and experience. He regulated his finances with great œconomy, and was careful not to exceed his resources. The mines of Philippi afforded him a great annual revenue, which as it was extracted out of the earth, and not from his subjects, appeared better calculated to produce real advantages to the interests of his kingdom. This resource was alike useful to his designs, whether he directed his views to the conquest of foreign dominions, or applied himself to the more solid, but less splendid undertaking of erecting and consolidating the internal grandeur of his kingdom.

Persons unable to penetrate the deep and secret principles of policy by which Philip was actuated, nevertheless could not but admire and fear

fear the power which he had already acquired. The unknown designs of the Macedonian monarch, however, were what rendered him really formidable; by which he was already grasping at the sovereignty of all Greece. The Olynthian territory, which, as has been before remarked, intervened between the Grecian states and Macedon, naturally became the first object of his design, as it was the most fertile and populous province on the Macedonian coast. But instead of betraying the vast plan which he had in agitation, he had hitherto cultivated the friendship and good offices of a people, whose gratitude he considered it to be his interest to deserve, by many real and important services. The success had been answerable to the undertaking, and it is more than probable, that if elated by his present prosperity and the many advantages we have already enumerated, he had prepared, at this time, to invade Greece, the Olynthians would not have been the spectators only of his actions, but the co-operators with him in his great and arduous undertaking.

Philip, however, was sensible, that by grasping too early or too eagerly at this glorious prize, he might destroy for ever his prospect of obtaining it. The most secure and certain method of proceeding in this design, was, in his opinion, to lull their passions and secure their fears. During the time that the Athenians were busily engaged in conducting the unfortunate war against their rebellious colonies and settlements, he had invaded and seized their possessions in Thrace and Macedon. This was an opportunity which he considered it his interest to embrace; and he pretended to that weak and credulous

credulous people, that his proceedings were directed by justice or necessity. The hostilities which he thus committed, were tempered by many partial acts of kindness and respect. Before the termination of the social war, the seeds of dissention, so profusely scattered over the several communities of Greece, appeared likely to ripen into a new quarrel, much more productive of importance and concern.

Philip, who foresaw what was about to happen, made preparations for taking advantage of the event. His hopes of attaining the sovereignty of Greece, were founded on the domestic animosity of that nation. He knew, however, that were his system discovered at too early a period, an army of two hundred thousand warriors would probably unite themselves against him, as their common enemy; but if he concealed his intentions, and proceeded by the secret refinements of a slow and steady policy, his designs might be effected, and the summit of his wishes attained, without being obliged to fight, on any one occasion, against an army of thirty thousand men. These considerations induced the Macedonian monarch to wait until the dissentions in Greece should be brought to maturity.

The council of the Amphictyons, who had, as we before mentioned, lost their influence and importance in the affairs of Greece, recovered their authority, in consequence of the events that took place in the Grecian republics, and which we have already described. Too often, it is, that the acquisition and exercise of uncontrouled power corrupt the heart, and produce those dangerous and destructive passions, which oppose the happiness of man. This effect was observable

observable in the Amphictyons, immediately after the renewal of their power. They pretended, that many and great abuses had been introduced during the declension of their authority, which it was proper and necessary to remedy. The sacred rights of religion, they said, which it was their first duty to maintain, had been materially and impiously violated by the state of Phocis, which had, in disregard of the decision of the oracle and of a decree of the amphictyonic council, ploughed lands, that, according to the tenor of those instructions were sacred to Apollo, and therefore improper to be used for agriculture.

These lands, however, were confined to the narrow district, which divides the river Cephissus and mount Thurium, on the western frontier of Bœotia. The criminal conduct of the Phocians (if their useful labours be deserving of that epithet) was neither great nor unprecedented. The Locrians of Amphisso had long cultivated the plains of Crissæa. This territory was much more extensive, and had been consecrated to the god by far more awful and sacred services. The Amphictyons, however, regardless of this distinction, summoned the Phocians to appear before them, and answer to the crime of which they were accused. The charge being proved against them, they were condemned to pay a heavy fine, and the sacred lands to be once more laid waste.

It is generally believed that the Thebans, who were the neighbours and the enemies of the Phocians, were the principal abettors of this arbitrary measure; certain it is that their influence at that time predominated in the council.

This supposition is rendered still more probable by the succeeding deliberations of the amphictyonic council. The next sentence of that assembly was directed against Sparta, to punish the injury of Phabidas, who in the time of peace, had seized on the Theban citadel, and left in it a garrison of Lacedæmonian troops. But this breach of public faith was committed, as has been noticed, several years before. The crime, however flagrant and dishonest it might appear, prudence required that it should have been buried in oblivion, but at the instigation of the Thebans the amphictyonic council brought it again to light. The Lacedæmonians for this action were commanded to pay a fine of five hundred talents; and if they did not pay the money in such a time, it was decreed that they should pay double the sum; but if they wholly disregarded the Amphictyons, and refused to obey the decree, they were in that case to be considered as the public enemies of Greece.

The angry decree of the amphictyonic council, which, as the forerunner of their oppression, was levelled against the inhabitants of Phocis, excited deep regret in that state, which was very unable to levy such a sum as was exacted. The danger, therefore, that threatened them, they knew not how to avoid. They thought it grievous and unjust to lay waste and destroy those fields that their own hands had cultivated, and which had been performed with so much labour. It was true the decree of the Amphictyons was peremptory, nor was it to be supposed that they would recede from their pretension to command. But then on the other hand, that council had not wherewith to compel a submission to their exactions.

tions. The force of which they were possessed would be very ineffectual for their purpose, provided the devoted objects of their vengeance remained firm and unalterable in their purpose, ventured to dispute the authority of the Amphictyons, and refused either to lay waste the sacred lands, or to pay the fine imposed on them.

These bold and daring measures were proposed and recommended by Philomelus, one of the principal citizens of Phocis, and a person whose popular eloquence and valour gave him a very powerful ascendant in the affairs of that state. He was also possessed of great property and much hereditary wealth. He contemned and ridiculed the superstitious ideas of the nation; and being a bold and ambitious man, expected that amidst the tumult of action and danger, an opportunity would present itself of raising him to some rank and reputation in the state. The Phocians frequently met to deliberate and decide on this important matter. The danger of refusing, and the injustice, not to say the impossibility, of obeying the decree of the amphictyonic council, were frequently discussed.

In all these deliberations Philomelus assisted. He endeavoured to inflame the vanity, and tempt the avarice of his countrymen. He proved to them, out of the Iliad of Homer, that to the Phocians belonged the guardianship of the temple of Apollo at Delphos, and the immense treasures contained within its walls*. By these arguments,

* "The Phocians to the strife of arms, Epistrophus and Schedius led—the sons of the great Iphitus, unknown to yield in war. Those who Cyparissus possessed—who dwelt on Pytho's rocky shore."

Macpherson's translation of the Iliad.

guments, together with his popular manner of speaking, Philomelus wrought upon the minds of the people; and a majority of the senate and the assembly assented to the truth of what he asserted. Thus far successful, he had the address to procure for himself the appointment of general of the army, and was considered as the most proper person for undertaking this office, and for executing those measures which he had so strenuously recommended. The Phocians imbibed the spirit of enterprize; and the youth were desirous of enlisting themselves under his standard, that they might defend, against the united attacks of envy and injustice, the honour of their country, its safety, and freedom. All the public money, and even the private fortune of Philomelus, and of other citizens, were expended in making preparations for commencing hostilities, and in purchasing the mercenary aid of those needy adventurers who abounded in every part of Greece, and were ready to afford their assistance to every bidder.

The following year was consumed by Philomelus in providing the necessary arms, in exercising his troops, and in an embassy which he undertook to the republic of Sparta, that he might induce the Lacedæmonians to concur in his views, since they had also received a very signal insult and injury from the amphictyonic council, relative to the seizure of the Theban citadel by Phæbidas, during the time of peace. Not having discharged the fine imposed by the Amphictyons in the time required, the penalty inflicted on that state, was accordingly doubled, and the delinquents were condemned to pay a thousand talents. The exorbitance and injus-

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tice of this imposition might have been considered sufficient to justify the Spartans in following the example of the Phocians, and in bidding defiance to the power and authority of the amphictyonic council.

But Archidamus, the Lacedæmonian king, who possessed the caution and address of the renowned Agesilaus, was unwilling, that the Spartan commonwealth should take a principal share in the dangerous experiment, which the Phocians were about to make against the decrees of a council generally revered, and which was considered by the several republics of Greece, as the guardian appointed by the laws for defending the national religion and liberty. But though under these circumstances he wished not that Sparta should take a leading part in the war, and place herself in the front of the battle, he nevertheless assured Philomelus that the interests of Phocis and of Sparta were the same, in the event of the contest, and that both himself and the Lacedæmonians approved the cause in which they were engaged; adding, that reasons of a private and temporary nature only hindered them from declaring openly in favour of the war, and that Philomelus might be assured secret supplies of men and money would be granted them, until the Spartans should boldly step forward and maintain the cause of the two republics.

B. C. 356

In proof of the intentions of Sparta, Archidamus put into the hands of the Phocian a considerable sum of money; and Philomelus animated by the assurance he had received that his republic should be assisted by the Spartans in the war, returned home. He was no sooner arrived

rived at Phocis than he put in execution a most audacious and unexpected measure. The temple at Delphos, though it contained treasures of immense value, was scarcely defended by any military force; and the superstition of the people was generally considered its principal guard. Philomelus having prepared his men for the enterprize (for they could scarcely be prevailed on to commit so profane and impious an action), immediately conducted them towards Delphos. The Thracidæ that inhabited the neighbouring district were considered in some measure as the guardians of the temple. These people Philomelus engaged, and having defeated the feeble resistance which they could afford, entered the sacred city with the calm intrepidity of a conqueror.

The Delphians, sensible that Philomelus was altogether void of religious sentiments, and of the respect which is due to the votaries of the gods, prepared themselves in silent horror for beholding the complicated guilt of murder and of sacrilege, committed by him without remorse or pity: but the countenance of Philomelus, and still more his actions and declarations, assured them that his intentions were altogether adverse to their fears, and that he designed nothing which they expected. He had come, he said, to Delphos, with no hostile dispositions against the inhabitants, and with no sacrilegious views against the temple. The principal motive for his marching the troops thither, was to emancipate both from the tyranny of the Amphictyons, whose arbitrary and oppressive proceedings were almost every where acknowledged and experienced. He had come to Delphos also for the purpose

purpose of asserting the ancient and unalienable right of the Phocians, relative to the patronage and protection of the Delphian shrine.

Philomelus then caused declarations of the same import to be diffused through the several republics of Greece. He tore away from the pillars the decrees of the Amphictyons against Phocis and Sparta, and then informed the inhabitants of this latter state, that he had destroyed the brazen tablets containing the obnoxious commands of the Amphictyonic council. His emissaries contrived means to inflame the resentment of the Athenians against the republic of Thebes, their natural and implacable enemy; and Sparta and Athens came to a resolution to oppose the Amphictyons, and openly to support the measures of Philomelus.

Matters were now becoming serious. The Amphictyonic council met a second time, and a resolution was passed declaring war against the Phocians. Most of the Grecian cities engaged in the quarrel, and gave assistance to one or the other, according as their interest or inclination led them. The Thebans, who directed the measures of the Amphictyons, were the foremost to take the part of that august assembly, and, in conjunction with the Locrians, Thessalians, and other states of less consideration, determined to take the field in defence of their insulted religion and violated laws. The operations, however, of these states were conducted with that languor and tardiness which are generally incident to confederacies.

On the contrary, the Phocian commander prepared to act with vigour. The republics in Peloponnesus, and his other allies, afforded him little

little or no assistance. The means which he used for paying his troops was by levying very heavy contributions on the Delphians, whom their situation had rendered extremely rich, by the devotion that was paid by all Greece at the shrine of Apollo. He then, notwithstanding the declarations formerly made, began to enrich himself with the treasures of the god, observing, that he did not see how the riches of Apollo could be more properly or beneficially employed than in his own defence.

Philomelus collected about ten thousand mercenary soldiers, men equally daring and profligate with himself, who sacrificed all scruples of religion and of conscience to the prospect of obtaining a rich spoil. Such, at least, was the general character of his followers; they were, however, not all tinctured with irreligion and immorality. Those who were more pious and less covetous were reconciled to the measures of Philomelus by the authority of the oracle itself, which he compelled to justify his proceedings. The Pythia, when first requested to declare the decrees of the god, refused to mount the sacred tripod*. Philomelus sternly commanded her.

* The protection and superintendence of the Delphic oracle, the precious depositary of riches and superstition, belonged to the Amphictyons: but the inhabitants of Delphos were the original proprietors of the temple, continued to direct the religious ceremonies, and to conduct the important business of this prophecy. To them alone it belonged to determine at what time, and on what occasion, the Pythia, or priestess of the god, should ascend the tripod, by which she communicated with Apollo, and received the prophetic steams. When overflowing with the heavenly inspiration, she uttered the confused words, or rather frantic sounds, which were irregularly suggested by the divine impulse. These sounds were collected and reduced into

Terrified by his menaces, she obeyed with great reluctance, and observed, that as he had now made himself master of Delphos, he was at liberty to act in what manner he thought proper. Philomelus, pleased with this speech, would have no other answer, but interpreted the words as an acknowledgment of his absolute authority; and the Phocian commander, according to his situation and character, confirmed this oracle by the report of many favourable omens.

Philomelus having by these means obtained the sanction of religion for all his proceedings, began to fortify the temple and city of Delphos, in which he placed a powerful garrison. He then marched with the remainder of his forces, in order to repel the incursions of the enemy. Several battles were fought, and success appeared doubtful on both sides. For two years Philomelus waged war with the Thebans and Locrians, and the issue of his engagements terminated variously: the Phocians, however, were generally victorious; but no decisive action took place between the contending parties; and the war was memorable on no other account than that the prisoners

into order by the Delphians, who animated them with sense, and adorned them with harmony.

The Pythia was only an instrument in the hands of those artful ministers, who appointed or dismissed her at pleasure. Their characters, however, became in time so sacred and venerable, that they were considered not merely as the attendants and worshippers, but as the peculiar family of the god. They were very numerous, but their number has never been exactly ascertained. All the principal inhabitants of Delphos claimed an immediate relation to Apollo, and were entitled to officiate in the rites of his sanctuary; whilst the inferior people of that city employed their time in dances, festivals, processions, and superstitious pageantry.

of each suffered excessive cruelty. The Thebans condemned their captives to death, as sacrilegious wretches that had been convicted of the most abominable impiety and profanation, in surprising and seizing the temple of Apollo, and using the sacred treasures as their own private fortunes, or the property of their state; and the Phocians endeavoured to retaliate on the Theban prisoners, whom the chance of war had put into their hands, the same severity which their unfortunate countrymen received from the enemy.

As both armies were in expectation of receiving speedy and powerful reinforcements from the several republics engaged in the quarrel, they were naturally desirous of avoiding a general engagement; but it happened that an unforeseen accident rendered their precautions ineffectual. The Theban and Phocian troops, entangled in the woods and mountains of Phocis, were drawn to seek forage near the same place. The van-guards of the army having met unexpectedly near the town of Neone, began to skirmish, which brought on a general battle. A bloody and obstinate engagement followed, in which the Phocians, pressed by superior numbers, were at length compelled to retreat. The situation of the country, in which were many pathless woods and abrupt rocks and precipices, greatly impeded their return to Delphos. Philomelus made great but ineffectual exertions to retrieve the fortune of the battle, and to rally his fugitive soldiers and lead them again to the charge; but he himself was at length obliged to retreat with his flying battalions, and was carried to the brow of a precipice, afflicted with wounds, and still more with anguish and despair.

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The enemy bore down all before them, and continued to advance to the place whither Philomelus had been driven. It seemed impossible to avoid them, or to escape the vengeance of their just resentment. Collecting, therefore, all his courage, he embraced a sudden and terrible resolution: he threw himself with fury from the top of the precipice, and by this means avoided the torments of a guilty conscience, and the vengeance of his enemies. The Thebans and their allies, who beheld the terrifying spectacle, considered this as a manifest indication of the divine wrath, and of the revenge which Apollo had exercised for the sacrilegious conduct of Philomelus relative to his sacred temple. In the mean time, Onomarchus, the lieutenant and brother of the Phocian general, collected the scattered fugitives, and returned with the feeble remains of the vanquished army towards Delphos. The confederate troops, animated with the success of this engagement, resolved to follow up their victory, and to expel those impious and sacrilegious persons from that holy place; and they determined to inflict on the common enemies of Greece and of Heaven, the same punishment that Philomelus had suffered.

Whilst these matters were transacting in the heart of Greece, different causes concurred to hinder the Macedonian king from taking any part in the Phocian war; and Athens and Sparta, which had promised their assistance against the Amphictyons and their abettors, were compelled to relinquish their hopes for the present, and to abandon their allies. Archidamus, who, notwithstanding the institutions of Sparta, had obtained an absolute ascendancy in that state,

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was induced by his interested policy, less to support the arms of his distant confederates, than to aim at the recovery of the Lacedæmonian dominion in Peloponnesus, which had now been a long time wrested out of their hands. The Athenians being at this time in strict alliance with Sparta, and the Thebans deeply engaged in the contest with the Phocians, the opportunity seemed favourable for attempting their purpose. For several years successively, the Spartans waged war with the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. The arms and intrigues of Archidamus, however, were unsuccessful. The inferior states and cities of Peloponnesus, roused by the sense of common danger and common interest, allied themselves together to repel the attempts of Sparta, and to retain their liberty; and, though Athens had entered into a confederacy with the Lacedæmonian commonwealth, yet that republic was unwilling to desert the cause of her ancient and faithful allies, the Arcadians and Messenians, and to give them up to the power of Sparta.

Whilst the politics of Peloponnesus formed a system apart from the rest, the centre of the Grecian nation was agitated and shaken by the sacred war, and the Athenians and the Macedonian monarch employed themselves in the affairs of Thrace. After the death of Cotys, the king of that country, the Thracian dominions were divided between his three sons, Kersobleptes, Berisades, and Amadocus. Each of these princes, however, dissatisfied with the partition of the country and with his own particular lot, commenced hostilities against one another; and, by means of this fraternal discord, Philip was enabled

enabled to carry off the prizes for which they so earnestly contended. The Macedonian king prevailed on Kersobleptes to cede part of the Thracian Chersonese to Athens, which sent a numerous fleet under the command of Chares to take possession of the territory made over to them in that peninsula. Sestos was the only city that resisted, which Chares stormed and took.

Philip then turned his arms against Methone, a small city of Thrace, which was unable to support itself by its own strength, but when in the power of his enemies failed not to disquiet him, and to obstruct his designs. He therefore besieged that place, which being obliged to capitulate, was rased to the ground. In this siege the Macedonian king lost an eye, a misfortune which he is said to have borne with great impatience, because the circumstances that attended it were dishonourable to his judgment and humanity*.

It seems astonishing, that the Thebans, after the defeat and death of Philomelus, should not have pursued their good fortune, as they at first intended. They probably expected that the fate of the chief would be a warning to his successor; and that the Phocians, finding it impossible to attain their purpose, would, if not driven to despair, surrender themselves prisoners, or crave a peace. This delay gave the Phocians time to breathe

* Philip is reported to have had an excellent marksman, named Aster, offered to him. The king replied, he would employ him when he waged war with starlings. Aster, therefore, shot an arrow against Philip, on which, when extracted, was found inscribed, "for the right eye of Philip." The king caused the arrow to be shot back again, with a new inscription, that he would hang Aster: which was accordingly done.

breathe, recover their strength, and to pursue such measures as they judged most proper in the present exigency of their affairs. Most of the principal persons among them were of opinion, that the most judicious plan of proceeding would be, to send to the Thebans, and offer terms for an accommodation. Others, however, who composed the more numerous description of that people, and were bold, impious, and needy, required that the war should still be continued, unless the Amphictyons would recede from their demands, and suffer them to retain the lands of which they were possessed.

An assembly was therefore convened, in which this matter was fully discussed. Onomarchus the brother of Philolemus, harangued the people in a speech which he had prepared for the purpose. He flattered them with the hopes of victory and encouraged them to persevere in the contest. The opinion of Onamarchus prevailed over that of others: and the Phocians appointed him general of the army. His subsequent conduct, after he took the command proved that he not only equalled his brother in courage and ambition, but that he far surpassed him in activity and enterprize. No man was better acquainted with the value and power of gold in military undertakings, and no man knew better how to effect his purpose with it.

Having drawn from the Delphic treasury as much wealth as he thought proper, he coined such an amazing quantity of money which was circulated over Greece, as had never before been seen in that nation. By means of the riches thus acquired, he hired more mercenaries, and the Phocian army was thereby restored and augmented.

mented. Their allies too were rendered more willing to afford them any assistance in their power; and even their enemies themselves were not sufficiently proof against the temptations of money, which so frequently assailed their fidelity. Onomarchus employed great sums in bribing and distracting the Theban councils, and in diverting the course of their arms. He prevailed on the neighbouring states to observe a strict neutrality, which might otherwise have been induced to join their forces to those of the enemy; and the Thessalians, a race of people remarkable for their avarice and fraud, and whose country was become proverbial for having never produced a bad horse nor an honest man, openly espoused the cause of the Phocians.

These multiplied advantages, Onomarchus employed with vigour; and he hoped that the unjust and sacrilegious motives of the enterprise might be eclipsed by the sudden splendour of victory. With the intention, therefore of striking some signal blow against the enemy, he collected his troops and marched a numerous and well-appointed army into the country of the Locrians and Dorians. He ravaged and laid waste the whole territory, stormed the town of Thronium which he took, and levied great contributions on several of the cities. He then penetrated into Bœotia, and having ravaged part of that country made himself master of Orchomenus. It was not until he came before the walls of Cheronæa, that he met with a repulse from the enemy who had assembled all their forces that they might put a stop to the ravages and incursions of the Phocians. Onomarchus had considerably weakened his army by placing garrisons in the several

towns which he had taken, and by sending a detachment of seven thousand men into Thessaly, under the command of his brother Phayllus. Under these circumstances, he judged it most prudent to decline another engagement with the enemy.

After the taking of Methone, Philip, who was always desirous of weakening his enemies by conquest, or of gaining some friends by his services, marched into Thessaly. The intrigue of the Macedonian monarch had counteracted the gold of Onomarchus; but Lycophon having been divested of his power by Philip, became the zealous partisan of the Phocians. He had again possessed himself of Pheræ; and Pegasæ, Magnesia, with several other places of less importance, had declared for him and for the Phocians. The Macedonian interest, however, prevailed in other parts; and the factions might seem to be equally divided.

The army of Philip commenced hostilities with great vigour. He attacked Phayllus, who was defeated and put to the rout. He then laid siege to Pegasæ which he took, and drove the Phocians towards their own frontiers. Onomarchus, who had suffered a repulse from the Thebans, afraid of losing the interest he had lately acquired among the Thessalians, evacuated the territory of Bœotia, and marched with his whole army to encounter the forces of Philip. The army of the Macedonians was less numerous, but did not decline the engagement. At the first onset, the Phocians gave way, and retreated fighting towards the mountains, Philip commanded his men to pursue the flying enemy. The Phocian general, in the mean while, had

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sent a detachment to the summit of the hill, who were ready at the first notice to roll down fragments of rocks and great stones on the embattled phalanx. The army of Philip having proceeded thither, were attacked by this new mode of fighting, for which they were altogether unprepared.

Now it was that the battle really began: the Macedonians who had followed the enemy in close order, were quickly thrown into confusion; and the line of march, in which they had so lately proceeded with firmness and intrepidity, was converted into a scene of carnage and slaughter. The flying Phocians, who had decoyed them into this ambush, then returned to the charge, and put the enemy to the rout. Philip thus repelled rallied his men, but was obliged to retire out of Thessaly. Onomarchus, however, hesitating to pursue the Macedonians retreated in good order; and Philip observed, that his army did not retire through fear, but like rams in order to make a more impetuous attack.

This threat was soon after put in execution; but Lycophron and Onomarchus, in the mean time enjoyed some respite. The tyrant having established himself again at Pheræ, the Phocian and Thessalian armies united and marched into Bœotia where they attacked and took after some resistance the city of Coronæa. They afterwards ravaged and desolated the whole territory; while the Thebans were greatly alarmed at the depredations committed by those invaders.

In the mean time, though the army of Philip had suffered a defeat, his spirit still remained unsubdued. He perceived that the reduction of Thessaly was absolutely necessary for erecting

that empire which he proposed. He therefore applied himself diligently to the raising of recruits; and as soon as he thought his army sufficiently reinforced, he marched against Lycophron. The tyrant did not wait his approach, but retiring with his troops to a place of safety, sent again to request the assistance of the Phocians. Onomarchus being resolved to expel the Macedonian monarch entirely out of Thessaly, marched an army of twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse. In the mean while Philip had prevailed on the Thessalians, to use their utmost efforts in reinforcing his troops; and the whole number of his forces amounted to twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. An engagement immediately followed, in which the Macedonian monarch obtained a decisive victory. The Thessalian horse chiefly decided the fate of the day; they were sensible that should Lycophron prove victorious, immediate destruction would await them; and therefore they fought with desperate resolution.

Three thousand Phocians together with Onomarchus their general were left dead upon the spot; and three thousand were taken prisoners. The slaughter would have been much greater, had not the Athenian fleet appeared off the shore where the battle was fought. Many of the Phocians threw away their armour, and swam to the vessels for protection. Philip caused the body of Onomarchus to be sought for among the slain; and when found, he commanded it to be hung upon a gibbet, as a peculiar mark of infamy. The other bodies of the slain were denied the rites of funeral, and thrown into the sea on account of their sacrilegious conduct in violating the

sacred temple at Delphos. The three thousand that were taken alive were either drowned, or reduced into captivity, but the latter opinion is thought more probable.

It might have been expected, that this decisive blow would have proved fatal to the Phocians, and have terminated at once the sacred war; but though Philip had conquered them in Thessaly, he was afraid of pursuing the Phocians into their own country, on account of the jealousy of the Greeks, who he knew would be greatly alarmed, if he attempted to pass the straits of Thermopylæ. He perceived, therefore that the most proper and certain method for attaining the end he had still in view, would be to perpetuate dissentions among the several Grecian communities. For that reason he began to foment divisions in Peloponnesus; and though he had chastised the Phocians, he was unwilling to finish a war, which whilst it engrossed the attention of the Grecian states, served to conceal from them his own ambitious designs. The victory he had achieved over an odious and obnoxious enemy, raised his reputation in Greece and the neighbouring states to a high pitch. He garrisoned the cities of Pheræ, Pegasæ, and Magnesia, and thus secured to himself the dominion of Thessaly.

His army was fully prepared for marching into Greece, and invading its several communities as soon as a fit opportunity should present itself; but until matters seemed ripe for executing an enterprize of this nature, he rejoiced to see the states of Greece divided and weakening one another with intestine quarrels. This condition of the Grecian republics served a two-fold purpose;

purpose: it allowed him to accomplish, unmolested, the subordinate designs of his reign, and tended to destroy the power of the Greeks. The Olynthians he had deceived for a long time, by good offices and fair promises; but he was now in a situation to unmask and convince them what his real intentions were. He had actually applied to Kersobleptes, whom he had detached from the Athenian interest. This man he had created the chieftain of the Thracian territory, whose confidence he had thereby gained, but whom he intended only to be subservient to his purposes.

Philip aimed at the dominions of that prince, which would infallibly lead to the reduction of Byzantium. The acquisition of this latter place must, at an early period, have tempted the ambitious views of Philip, who was so well acquainted with its advantageous situation, both for commerce and for war. His designs against Byzantium were discovered by his attacking the fortress of Heræum, which was small and unimportant in itself, and the harbour was dangerous; but its contiguity to Byzantium, rendered it valuable, as it served the purposes of an outwork and defence to that rich and populous city.

The Athenians having now developed the real designs of Philip on Byzantium, made known to Kersobleptes the danger of himself and of his dominions. They immediately entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with the republic of Olynthus; and they voted a numerous and powerful armament to oppose the enterprises of Philip. This fleet was more immediately designed to sail to the relief and defence of Heræum,

ræum, or rather of Byzantium. Though this city had been rendered free and independent, since the termination of the social war, the Athenians were greatly concerned under whose jurisdiction it should be reduced, since they still carried on, with that place, a very lucrative commerce.

But though the Athenians manifested, at first, great exertions, in preparing to oppose the hostile designs of the Macedonian monarch, the spirit of their undertaking was suffered to evaporate. Philip received a dangerous wound at the taking of Methone; this, with the labour and fatigue to which he was continually exposed, threw him into a malady that threatened his life. It was reported, and the report obtained credit at Athens, that he was dead. The Athenians testified their joy at the news of this event, which had delivered them from an artful and dangerous enemy. Their naval preparations were immediately remitted, and their attention was again principally directed to the Phocian war.

Phayllus, the brother and successor of the unfortunate Philomelus and Onomarchus, still carried on this unhappy contest. He perceived that his cause was now desperate, and therefore prepared to avail himself of the only resource that was left him. In order that he might increase the number of his followers, and procure an army fit for encountering the enemy, he sold all the valuable dedications which he found at the temple of Delphos. The money he thus procured, which was immense, allured to his standard many adventurers, and rendered his army equal in every respect to those of his brothers.

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The fugitive Thessalians that had assembled under Lycophron, entered into his army; and by means of the Delphic treasure, he obtained the assistance of two thousand Lacedæmonians, two thousand Achæans, five thousand Athenian infantry, and four hundred cavalry. These powerful reinforcements added new vigour to the unfortunate Phocians, and gave them encouragement, that when they took the field, their enterprize would be successful, and their enemies be subdued.

B. C. 352.

In the mean time, Philip having recovered from his indisposition, became sensible, from the late preparations of the Athenians, that his designs could no longer be concealed. The alliance which had been concluded between Athens and Olynthus, proved to him the alarm which his enterprise had excited in the neighbouring states. He was informed by emissaries, whom he employed for the purpose, that the Grecian communities were in actual commotion, on account of the assistance and support given by many powerful republics, in abetting the sacrilege of the Phocians. The Macedonian monarch considered it his duty, or rather his interest to take an active part in the measures that were carrying on, and that he should give assistance to his allies, and defend the pious cause which he had formerly maintained with so much glory and success.

The victories which he had gained over Onomarchus were still remembered by his allies, and remembered with gratitude. Not only did the Locrians, Dorians, and Thebans, who had engaged as principals in the war, but the religious in every part of Greece looked to him as their deliverer.

deliverer. Philip, therefore, resolved to march at the head of a numerous army, towards the celebrated straits of Thermopylæ, which we have before described. The expectations, however, which the Macedonian monarch had formed, relative to the terror that his unexpected appearance in those parts would diffuse throughout Greece, he soon found to be false. The Athenians penetrated the real designs of Philip, which he endeavoured to conceal under the veil of religion; they doubted not, but that his intentions were to invade and conquer their country; and they imaged to themselves the Macedonians, Thessalians, and Thebans, attacking with fury the Attic and Peloponnesian territory. Impressed with these ideas, and the certainty of invasion that awaited their country, they were roused from that lethargy and supineness into which their councils had fallen. They flew to arms; launched their fleet; and sailing with their troops took possession of Thermopylæ.

Never did Philip experience a greater disappointment, than in finding himself thus anticipated by a people whom he had so often deceived. He abandoned the Phocian war to the conduct of the Thebans and marched back towards Macedon; while the Athenians, after leaving a sufficient force to defend the straits, returned to their capital, and summoned an assembly of the people.

On this occasion it was, that Demosthenes, the celebrated orator, made his first appearance against Philip. His sentiments and views were equally different from those of many Athenians, who wished well to their country, and from the infamous hirelings of Philip, who endeavoured

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to favour the interests of Macedon. No man was better acquainted with the corruption and degeneracy of the Athenian people, and none ever deplored it more. From the lethargy, however, into which they were sunk, he hoped and attempted to rouse them. This design, arduous and difficult as it certainly was, his eloquence, which was the most powerful, glowing, and sublime, that ever man employed, sometimes effected. Great and almost incredible were the pains, which Demosthenes made use of that he might become an accomplished speaker. The ancient glory of his country was ever present to his view; and in the ardour of patriotism he sometimes forgot the sober dictates of reason. He asserted the just prerogatives and pretensions of his country, and would much rather have seen Athens discomfited at the head of her allies, than victorious under any foreign standard. Such were the views, and such the character of this eloquent and disinterested patriot. No wonder, that he became a favourite of the people, whose interests he was always ready to defend.

Demosthenes had endeavoured, on a previous occasion, to awaken the Athenians from their lethargic and indolent habits; and it was principally owing to his advice, that they had been induced to send troops to occupy the straits of Thermopylæ. He now maintained, that Philip had seized several communities by conquest, and others by alliances, merely on account of his vigilance and intrepidity; and that if the Athenians would only rouse from their lethargy, and apply themselves to their interest, they might soon recover the advantages which their negligence had lost. "When, therefore," said the Athenian

Athenian orator, "will you, O my countrymen! exert your vigour, and stand forth in defence of the liberties of your country? No necessity surely can be greater than the present. Will you ever be sauntering in the forum and places of resort, and enquiring after news? Nothing certainly can be more new, than that a Macedonian should conquer Athens and enslave Greece! Is Philip dead? No, it is replied, but in great danger. What do these rumours concern you? It matters not whether he be sick or dead, if you conduct your affairs in this manner; for should Philip die to-day, you will raise up another Philip to-morrow." He then exhorted them to send troops to protect Olynthus and the Chersonese from the incursions of the Macedonian monarch; but it is probable that the small armament, which Demosthenes required for accomplishing this purpose, never sailed.

In the mean time Philip finding his designs were discovered, employed means to lull the Athenians into security, and to foster the supineness of his enemies. For more than two years the Macedonian monarch was induced by motives of sound policy, to confine himself within his dominions, that he might dissipate the clamours which his too great precipitation in seizing the gates of Greece had occasioned. He spent his time at Pella in cultivating the arts of peace, and encouraging them with munificence. His domestic government was administered with justice and impartiality; the complaints of the lowest of his subjects were attended to with great condescension; and laying aside the formalities and pomp of tyranny, he maintained an easy in-

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tercourse with the principal persons of Macedonia.

But the great actions of Philip were sullied by his vicious propensities and detestable crimes. He united in his character those two extremes, avarice and prodigality. The wealth which he had amassed by levying contributions on the dependent states, and other acts of injustice and rapacity, was dissipated in the most criminal gratifications. He frequented the company of the meanest and most worthless of mankind. His companions were selected indifferently from Macedonians and Greeks; but the Thessalians, the most profligate people of the Grecian nation, were chiefly his favourites. In short, every one who was a proficient in the most odious and detestable abominations that ever disgraced human nature, was admitted to his familiarity and friendship. His propensity to low wit, obscenity, and drunkenness, made him become the prey of parasites and flatterers.

The inactivity of Philip deceived the Athenians, and they indulged themselves, without reserve in their favourite amusements. They assisted not the Phocians, and neglected the war with Philip in which they might justly be considered as principals. The eloquence of Demosthenes had no effect, and was unable to resist the popular torrent.

In the mean time, the Olynthians, whom the Macedonian monarch appeared to have forgot, perceived that many of their citizens grew rich and great, in a manner equally sudden and unaccountable. The unexpected invasion of their city by Philip, however, made known to them

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the cause of this great influx of wealth. The influence of those, who had become rich by betraying the secrets, exposing the weakness, and fostering the unseasonable security of their country, recommended them to Philip, whose bribes tended still more to increase that influence. In this emergency, the Olynthians immediately dispatched ambassadors to Athens; for they were aware, that to attempt, with ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, to repel the ravagers from their territory would be impossible. The deputies, when they arrived at Athens, inveighed against the perfidy of Philip, who had first sought their protection, then deceived, and now invaded and attacked them. They desired, therefore, by virtue of the alliance which subsisted between the two states, that the Athenians would assist them against a daring and treacherous tyrant.

Demosthenes seconded their proposals with his usual eloquence; but was opposed by Demades and other hirelings of Philip. The people of Athens, therefore, animated to their duty on the one hand by Demosthenes, and seduced from their interest on the other by the corrupted orators, steered a middle course; and sent Chares with a fleet and two thousand mercenaries, to the assistance of their allies. This commander whom the people idolized, was the disgrace of his country and of his profession. He shewed no inclination to protect the Olynthians from the attack of the enemy; and their dependent provinces, therefore, soon fell into the hands of Philip.

In the mean time, the Olynthians were shut up within their walls, and had lost several very considerable cities of strength with some inferior towns, which had been ready to receive the

bribes of Philip, and to open their gates to the invader. The shameful venality of those places which were well provided for defence, made the Macedonian monarch observe, that he would thenceforth consider no fortresses impregnable which could admit a mule laden with gold. In this emergency the Olynthians resolved to attempt a negociation, until they could send again to request the assistance of the Athenians. Philip penetrated their designs, and dexterously turned their arts against themselves: he affected to give attention to their proposals, until he had approached within forty stadia of their walls; and then he declared that of two things one was extremely requisite;—namely, that either *they* must quit Olynthus, or *he* Macedon. Philip was often used to flatter, but never to threaten, without fulfilling what he said. This explicit declaration, therefore, convinced the Olynthians that the suspicions they had long entertained were too justly founded, and that the utter destruction of their city and themselves was at hand. They made a vigorous sally, however, against the besiegers with their cavalry, but were repulsed with great loss.

The Olynthian ambassadors having made known the object of their mission, the Athenians dispatched to their assistance a body of four thousand foreign infantry, with a hundred and fifty horse, under the command of Charidemus. These troops, however, did the Olynthians no manner of service: their cowardice made them contemptible, and their licentiousness dangerous. Under these circumstances they sent a third time to Athens, and requested that a body of Athenian citizens might be sent to their relief; but before

before the auxiliaries from Athens could arrive, Olynthus was compelled to submit through the
B. C. treachery of her own citizens. Philip en-
348. tered triumphantly, plundered and demolished the whole city, and dragged the inhabitants into captivity. Lasthenes, Euthycrates, and their associates, who were the means of giving up the city to the enemy, shared the same or even a worse fate; being abandoned to the rage of the soldiers, who slew them immediately.

By the conquest of Olynthus, Philip became possessed of the whole region of Chalcis, and the northern coast of the Ægean sea. His dominions now were bounded on the north by the Thracian possessions of Kersobleptes, and on the south by the territory of Phocis, a province that actually comprehended the straits of Thermopylæ. Besides the general motives of interest that induced Philip to extend his dominions, he saw the importance and advantage of possessing himself of Thermopylæ and the Hellespont; the former was properly and emphatically styled the gates of Greece, and the latter was the means of communication between that country and the Euxine, from whose shores the inhabitants of the Grecian communities drew supplies of corn. He perceived therefore that it was his particular interest to engage as a principal in the Phocian war, which would naturally secure to him the possession of those two important places, without which it would be impossible to accomplish what had been the great and constant object of his reign.

The Thebans finding themselves unable to terminate the war which they had so long car-

ried on, sent a deputation to Philip, to request that he would march an army against the sacrilegious Phocians, and reduce them to submission; whilst, on the other hand, the confederates in alliance with Phocis sought his friendship and protection. But though the Macedonian monarch was ready to favour the Thebans, whose interest in the present instance was inseparable from his own, he delayed to answer either for some time, but kept them both in dependence. He, however, treated the deputies of the three republics, Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, with apparent frankness and cordiality, though their designs were so widely different.

At length he ventured to assure the Theban ambassadors in private, that his arms should be employed in recovering for them the towns that had revolted from their capital, and which had during the invasion of Bœotia, readily submitted themselves to the Phocians. The inhabitants of Phocis, he said, had justly deserved the vengeance of heaven, and were objects of the divine displeasure; to punish them, therefore, would be as honourable and meritorious an act, as it would be base and impious to protect them. In these declarations Philip was certainly sincere, because the views of Thebes in these particulars were conformable to his own.

But there were other matters in which the interest of Macedon and of Thebes was widely different. To gain his purposes without offending his allies, was what Philip chiefly aimed at. He therefore caressed and flattered the ambassadors, but in vain. Money was offered them with a profuse liberality; but even the address of the Macedonian king could not make these bribes

bribes acceptable. The Theban deputies refused with scorn the proffered wealth, and maintained to the end of their mission their integrity and firmness of conduct. Philon, in the name of his colleagues, told Philip that they were very well satisfied of his friendship for them, independent of the presents which he offered them: that it would be most proper to reserve his generosity for their country; since the favours conferred on Thebes would render that republic and its ministers grateful and obedient.

On the contrary, all the Athenian ambassadors, except Demosthenes, received the bribes of the Macedonian monarch, and were easily persuaded that Philip was prepossessed in favour of their republic, and that he sincerely pitied the unfortunate condition of the Phocians, that he detested the insolence of the Thebans, and if he marched his army to the straits of Thermopylæ, his expedition would be more dangerous to that state than to its enemies. At present, however, he observed, that certain reasons induced him to cultivate the friendship of a people who set no bounds to their ambition; but that he was determined to defer no longer the ratification of a peace with Athens. He only wished that, in order to save appearances, the Phocians might not be mentioned in the treaty. The Athenians thus brought this arduous work to a conclusion.

The ambassadors upon their return home, informed their fellow-citizens that Philip in a few days would pass the straits of Thermopylæ, not with an intent to punish the Phocians, but the Thebans, who had been the real authors of the war. Several advantages of the treaty were enumerated, and insisted on by Æschines, who had

had been one of the persons employed in procuring the peace. But Demosthenes declared that he was ignorant of those particulars which his colleague had mentioned, nor did he believe that any such existed. The Athenian people, however, agreed to a motion, thanking Philip for his equitable and friendly intentions, and for ratifying a treaty of peace between Macedon and Athens.

In the mean time, the Phocians being led to consider the negociations of the Athenians with Philip, as productive of great advantage to themselves, received the Macedonian monarch as their deliverer. Philip had passed the straits of Thermopylæ, and the Athenians expected that he would have turned his arms against Thebes. He soon, however, undeceived them, and commanded his troops to wear crowns of laurel, thereby declaring themselves engaged in the service of Apollo, and the avengers of the sacrilegious violation of his temple. The Phocians, terrified at the appearance of the powerful army of Philip, dismissed all thoughts of defence, though Archidamus the Spartan king had marched some Lacedæmonian troops to their assistance. They therefore submitted themselves to his mercy, without any opposition. Phaleucus
B. C. 346. who commanded eight thousand mercenaries, was permitted to retire into Peloponnesus; and as the judgment to be passed upon the Phocians was a matter which concerned all Greece, it was referred to the Amphictyonic council. By their decree the walls of three Phocian cities were demolished; the people commanded to retain no fortified places, and to inhabit the villages only; they were enjoined the

the payment of a yearly tribute of sixty talents, and to make use of neither horses nor arms, until they had repaid into the treasury at Delphos the money which they had sacrilegiously taken from thence. They were also rejected from being members of the Amphictyonic council, and the Macedonians elected in their room.

Philip proceeded to execute the decree of the Amphictyons with inflexible cruelty; and the silence with which all this was done, seemed more dreadful than the tumultuary ravages of the fiercest war. After their cities and houses were destroyed, the inhabitants were driven like herds of cattle to the settlements allotted them, and compelled to cultivate the fields for the benefit of their stern and unrelenting masters. At the distance of three years, Phocis presented a piteous sight of unexampled devastation. The youth and men of age had perished in the war, or been dragged into captivity; the once flourishing and populous cities were erased; and the villages were thinly inhabited by women, children, and wretched old men, whose silent but emphatic sorrow exceeded all complaints which they could have uttered, and fully bespoke the misery of their condition.

CHAP. XVII.

Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Conclusion of the Phocian War, to the Death of Philip.

THE Athenians were no sooner informed of these melancholy events, than a general consternation seized the people. Their deputies had

had not been summoned to the council, which decided the fate of Phocis. The people assembled to examine the state of their harbours and shipping; and immediately passed a decree, that the Athenians who generally resided in the country, should be summoned to the defence of the city; that every one within the distance of twelve miles, should transport their persons and most valuable effects into Athens or Piræus; and those whose situations were farther distant, should convey themselves and their property into the nearest fortresses, and places of greatest strength in the Attic territory. They seemed inclined to call in question the election of Philip into the council of the Amphictyons, and every thing indicated the appearance of approaching hostilities.

Demosthenes, however, interposed and prevented matters from coming to an open rupture. He told them that though he was not inclined to the pacific measures which had been concluded, he was nevertheless friendly to the observance of the treaty. That at present the contest would be very unequal; for they would not only have to contend with the Macedonian monarch, but with several states of Greece, who were now become confederates with him. These remonstrances had their proper effect, and they saw the impossibility of attempting what not long before they might easily have effected.

In the mean time Philip, having thus terminated the sacred war in a manner so favourable to his wishes and ambition, had his statue erected in the temple of Delphos, and by a solemn decree of the Amphictyonic council, the kingdom of Macedon was appointed the principal member

member of that body. Games and festivals were also performed, at which Philip presided, but though most of the Grecian states sent their representatives, the Athenians, indignant at the conduct of the Macedonian monarch, abstained from the festival.

By his intrigues Philip gained more advantages over his enemies than a long series of victories could have procured him. The conquest of Greece was at present the object of his attention, though he had long meditated the invasion of Asia. He was, however, unwilling to attempt new conquests, until he had completely established those he had already acquired. But instead of rousing the dangerous resentment of the Grecian nation, whom he was ambitious to subdue, he wholly disarmed the hostility of Greece, and threatened with the combined force of all the Grecian states the only republic that durst oppose his measures. He therefore considered it as the most proper mode of conduct, to abstain from all farther hostilities at present, to withdraw his army from the territories of Greece, and not to attempt effecting by a premature force what a seasonable policy might safely accomplish.

Philip marched his army into Illyria, the inhabitants of which country had, during the operations in Greece, harassed the frontiers of Macedonia, and threatened a formidable invasion of that kingdom. During the absence of Philip in Illyria, Ochus king of Persia sent ambassadors into Macedonia, under the pretence of offering his friendship and alliance, but in reality to observe the strength and resources of a monarch

whom

whom fame represented as truly formidable. Alexander received the Persian ministers, whom he entertained; and though he had not yet attained his twelfth year, he is said to have discovered on that occasion such manly and premature knowledge, as announced the dawn of a singular and magnanimous character. He put questions to the ambassadors which could not have been expected from his age. The nature of the Persian government, and the art of war; the genius and disposition of the reigning sovereign; with the distance of the capital from the coast, and the state of the intervening roads, formed the substance of the young prince's enquiries.

These questions prove that the invasion and conquest of Persia had been frequently the subject of conversation between Alexander and his instructors, and that ambition had already taken possession of his youthful mind. The ambassadors were astonished at what they heard, and exclaimed to each other, "Ours is a rich and powerful, but this will be a truly wise and great monarch."

Philip no sooner returned from Illyria, where he had been as usual victorious, and extended the boundaries of his kingdom in that part, than he made an incursion into Thessaly, and finally settled the affairs of that country. He took upon himself the whole management of the revenue, and divided the territory into four governments, that he might thereby weaken the force of opposition, and render the whole province completely dependent on Macedon. Here it was that Philip performed an act of private justice,

for

for which he was sometimes remarkable, and that far outweighed the celebrity of all his public actions.

A Macedonian soldier, on many occasions, signalized himself in battle, by extraordinary acts of valour: this man Philip had therefore thought proper to distinguish by his approbation and marks of favour. It happened that the soldier, having embarked on board a vessel that was wrecked by a violent storm, was thrown upon the shore helpless and naked, and scarcely with the appearance of life. The owner of the estate, which bordered on the sea, found the shipwrecked soldier, and with the greatest humanity and tenderness flew to his relief. He carried him home, laid him in his bed, revived, cherished, and comforted him. For forty days the tender host supplied him with every necessary and convenience which his languishing condition seemed to require. The soldier having been thus rescued from death, was profuse of grateful expressions towards his benefactor. He assured his host that he was in great favour with Philip, and that he would use all his endeavours to procure him that return from the royal bounty, which so much kindness and pity had justly merited. Being by this time completely recovered, his host was unwilling that he should depart, without having first received a sum of money sufficient to defray the expenses of his journey.

Some time after, he took an opportunity to present himself before the king, and, relating the misfortunes he had undergone, magnified the services he had rendered the Macedonian monarch. The property of his benevolent and

disinterested host had raised envy in the breast of the ungrateful soldier, and he coveted the possessions of the man who had preserved his life. He requested, therefore, that the king would, in consideration of his meritorious services, bestow on him the house and lands of the Macedonian who had so tenderly and hospitably entertained him. Philip, who did not once consider the injustice of such a proceeding, precipitately and unhappily granted his infamous request. The soldier requited the benevolence of his host, by returning and driving his preserver from his settlement, and taking possession of the fruits of his honest industry.

The poor man, indignant at the unparalleled ingratitude and insensibility of his guest, boldly determined not to suffer tamely the injuries and indignities offered to him, but to seek redress by some means or other. Having therefore written a letter, exposing in the most indignant terms the conduct of the soldier, he sent it to the Macedonian monarch. Philip having read the account of the soldier's ingratitude and perfidy, was instantly fired with resentment. He gave orders that justice should be immediately done. The man was accordingly restored to his possessions; and the soldier, who had thus horribly repaid the charitable offices of his benefactor, was branded on the forehead with these words, "The ungrateful guest." This was a character infamous in every age and in every nation; but which was reckoned particularly so among the Greeks, who, from the most early periods, were scrupulously observant of the laws of hospitality.

The fame of Philip's achievements disposed his

his subjects to hope every thing from his conduct, and all the neighbouring states to solicit his friendship. The prudent monarch therefore, always intent upon extending and establishing his conquests, marched an army into Thrace. By his victories in those parts, he greatly incommoded the Athenians. Diopithes, who had the government of the Athenian colonies in Thrace, perceiving the designs of Philip, did not wait for instructions from his country before he resolved to oppose them. Having, therefore, raised a sufficient body of troops, he took advantage of the king's absence, invaded the adjacent territories of the Macedonian monarch, and wasted them with fire and sword.

Philip, whom the operations in the Chersonese detained, could not repel Diopithes by force: he therefore wrote to the Athenians, and complained of the conduct of their officer, who, in a time of peace, had entered his territories, ravaged the country, and committed such depredations as could scarcely have been justified by mutual hostilities. The creatures of Philip at Athens supported, with all their eloquence, the charges urged against Diopithes. They insisted that, unless they recalled him from his government, for his infringement of the peace, the Athenians could not hope to preserve the friendship of Philip, or of that of any other state. Diopithes was also impeached of extortion and piracy, and of levying contributions upon the friends and allies of Athens.

But whatever might be the misconduct of Diopithes in the present instance, which occasioned this latter part of the accusation, certain it is that the blame principally attached to the Athe-

nian government. There was no public fund for carrying on wars, and their generals were sent without money and provisions, and were therefore obliged to supply themselves in the best manner they could. Demosthenes undertook the defence of the accused general, whose conduct and measures he warmly approved. The impeachment of Diopithes he imputed to the malice and perfidy of his enemies. It had been, he said, the main object of their concern, to withdraw the attention of the Athenians from the continual encroachments of Philip, by raising unjust complaints and calumnies against their fellow-citizens. The contributions levied by Diopithes upon the Asiatic Greeks was not a matter unprecedented, but had the invariable example of his predecessors, who, according to the strength of their armaments, had always exacted a proportional demand from the respective colonies.

The money that was thus raised was given for furnishing convoys to protect their ships of commerce from rapine and piracy. If Diopithes did not levy those contributions, how was it to be supposed that he, who received nothing from the Athenians, and had nothing of his own, was to maintain the troops? Who then, amid this pretended concern for the colonists, perceived not, that the artifice is intended to fix you in the city, while the enemy keeps the field, and manages the war according to his pleasure?

The arguments and remonstrances of Demosthenes were attended with success; for not only was Diopithes preserved by the powerful eloquence of the orator, but the Athenians were animated with a degree of vigour which they

had

had been long unaccustomed to exert. They equipped a fleet under the command of Callias, who seized all Macedonian ships as lawful prizes, and, making a descent on the Thessalian coast, plundered the harbours in the Pelasgic gulf: but Philip, whose designs against several cities in the Propontis and Euxine were now ripe for execution, would not be diverted from his purpose by any secondary considerations.

In the mean time, the divisions which existed among the inferior and more powerful states of Peloponnesus gave Philip a pretext for intermeddling in the affairs of those communities. These divisions were occasioned by the Spartans, who had laboured for some time with great attention, to extend their pretensions and power over the territories of Messenia, Argos, and Arcadia. The complaints of these states were inflamed into hostilities by the Thebans, who were the natural enemies of Sparta, and closely allied with Macedonia. The Thebans applied to Philip, and requested that he would not suffer their confederates in Peloponnesus to be oppressed by the Spartans. The Amphictyonic council by a decree abetted the proceedings of the Macedonian monarch, and required him to check the insolence of Sparta, and to protect those defenceless communities.

Thus encouraged by the resolution of the Amphictyons, but more impelled by his ambitious views, Philip marched an army towards Peloponnesus. In his journey through the territory of Corinth, the inhabitants of that state, who had suffered considerably by his intrigues and ambition, prepared to resist him. Every thing announced their resolution: weapons and defensive

 armour

armour were provided, the walls and fortifications were repaired, and the whole city glowed with the ardour of military preparations. Diogenes the cynic, who omitted no opportunity of deriding the follies of mankind, saw the vain bustle of the effeminate Corinthians. He considered all this hurry as ill calculated to contend with the active vigour of Philip, and therefore, lest he should seem to be the only person unemployed in the city, began to roll about his tub.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians represented to the Athenians the dangerous tendency of the league that was thus formed, and asserted that it would be equally hurtful to Athens and to Sparta. Philip, they said, would not be satisfied with a partial conquest; his ambitious imagination had already grasped the dominion of Greece; and now was the time for the two leading republics, who had mutually assisted each other during seasons of public calamity, to oppose the enemy with vigour, and to defend the common safety of Greece. In consequence of these representations, together with the arguments which Demosthenes urged in favour of a union between the two states, a confederacy was entered into between Athens and Sparta.

But, while they were employed in deliberating upon these measures, Philip, unobserved and unopposed, landed with a fleet in Laconia, and ravaged the most valuable part of the Lacedæmonian territories. The consternation in Sparta was so general, that the saying of a Spartan youth, who betrayed no symptoms of alarm, has been thought worthy of record. Being asked whether he was not afraid of Philip, the youth replied, "Why should I fear him? he cannot

hinder

hinder us to die for our country." This manly resolution, however, no longer animated the bulk of the Spartan people. Agis, the son of king Archidamus, was sent to treat with the invader. The young prince coming alone and unattended, the Macedonian monarch expressed his surprise, and said, "What, have the Spartans sent but one!" Agis replied, "Am I not sent to one?" This was the expiring voice of Spartan pride; but Philip, unwilling to drive to despair the disciples of Lycurgus and descendants of Leonidas, having freed the other states from the Spartan yoke, returned towards Macedonia.

At Corinth, he received from the inhabitants of that state the grossest insults, which he bore with great moderation; for it has been observed, that he knew how to digest an affront. When urged by his courtiers to punish their ingratitude, he replied, "Were I to act with severity, what must I expect from men who repay even kindness with insult?"

Philip, whose restless and ungovernable disposition never suffered him to take any repose, now turned his thoughts to the subjection of Eubœa. This island he had long considered, from its situation and contiguity to the Attic territory, as extremely favourable to the designs he meditated against Greece. In the beginning of his reign he had endeavoured to possess himself of it: every engine was set to work in order to seize upon that island, which he used to call the shackles of Greece. His intrigues and the dilatory conduct of the Athenians effected his purpose. Under pretence of sending thither some troops, who might deliver Eubœa from the tyranny and extortions of Molossus, the Athenian

nian commander, he landed such a body of forces as proved sufficient, with the assistance of his adherents in the island, to expel the Athenians.

The recent prevalence of the Macedonians had been marked with numerous acts of violence and oppression. Many of the cities prepared to rebel, and for that purpose dispatched emissaries to the several communities of Greece, and solicited assistance from those states which they had reason to deem favourable to their views. The Athenians, chiefly by the influence of Demosthenes, sent a considerable body of troops, under the command of the brave and virtuous Phocion.

This man had already acquired great reputation as a general, and his eloquence had still more established his fame as an orator. He had studied in the academy under Plato, and his manners were formed upon the models of the most exact and rigid virtue. We are told, that no Athenian ever saw him laugh or weep, or in the least deviate from the most settled gravity and composure. Chabrias was the commander under whom he learned the art of war; but the errors and excesses to which that general was subject, he frequently corrected and moderated. The humanity of Chabrias he was often heard to commend, and which he always imitated; but he instructed that commander to exert it more extensively and liberally. When Phocion received directions to sail with twenty ships, to collect the contributions of the allies and dependent cities, "Why," said he, "am I to have that force? If I am to meet them as enemies, it is insufficient; and if as friends and allies, a single vessel will serve the purpose."

Whenever

Whenever he went into the country or the army, he bore the severities of the season with so much ease, that if he appeared warmly clothed, the soldiers pronounced it the sign of a remarkably cold winter. The outward appearance of Phocion was forbidding, but his conversation agreeable and entertaining. Every word and action expressed the utmost affection and benevolence. He applied himself to the study of eloquence, and was very successful. A concise mode of speaking, equally distant from verbosity and too much brevity, was what he generally aimed at; his style thereby became lively and close, and expressed many ideas in few words. His reasoning was so powerful, that even the energy and dignity of Demosthenes were obliged to yield to it. This latter orator usually called him, the ax which cut off the effects of his words. Good sense and plain reasoning were all that he studied, and every adventitious ornament was despised. Appearing one day wrapped up in thought when he was to have addressed an assembly, a friend asked him the reason. "I am considering," said he, "whether it is not possible to retrench some part of my intended discourse."

He was well aware of the corruption of morals that existed in Athens, and always treated the licentiousness and ill conduct of his countrymen with the most pointed severity. Their censures or their applause he ever disregarded: when he had once been addressing the people, and they appeared to approve very much of what he had spoken, he turned about and asked a friend, whether he had said any thing imprudent or impertinent? He perceived that the indolence

dolence and unsteadiness of the Athenians rendered them incapable of contending with the unceasing activity of Philip; and it was therefore from a conviction of this nature that he continually exhorted his countrymen, to gain and cultivate the friendship of a prince against whom they could not make war with any prospect of success.

He was not insensible of the designs, the intrigues, and the boundless ambition of the Macedonian king; but the corruption of the state, the degeneracy of morals, and the supineness of the Athenians, inclined him to pacific measures. It was of Phocion and his adherents that Demosthenes, in his third oration against Philip, said, they gave up the interests of their country, not corruptly nor ignorantly, but from a desperate purpose of yielding to the fate of a constitution thought to be irrecoverably lost. In consequence of the opinions he entertained, Demosthenes and Phocion were ever adverse to each other. Experience having instructed Phocion, that the leaders of the popular party ought always to be suspected, he considered the earnestness and constancy of Demosthenes, in endeavouring to rouse the Athenians to a just sense of their danger, and to take arms against the Macedonian monarch, as artifices to embroil the state, and by those means obtain an influence over the assembly. "Phocion," said Demosthenes, "the people in some mad fit will certainly sacrifice thee to their fury." To whom he replied, "Nor can you escape from becoming their victim, if ever they should have any intervals of reason." They frequently obliged him to act contrary to the opinions he entertained, though

though whatever were his sentiments, he always spoke them without reserve. The command which the Athenians offered, he always considered it his duty to accept, even though he disapproved the expedition. Forty-five times was he chosen to lead the armies of the republic, though he never once requested or made interest for the office, and was generally appointed during his absence from Athens; and it was matter of no small astonishment that, notwithstanding the severity of his morals and his opposition to the will and caprice of the people, the Athenians should be so partial to him: but the opinion they had formed of his probity and merit, induced them to seek his assistance in times of public danger, for their own sake, and not for his.

Phocion accordingly sailed with the armament to Eubœa: Demosthenes the orator accompanied him, and, addressing the popular assemblies in almost every city of the island, inflamed the inhabitants with such animosity against Philip, that little remained for the general to achieve. The Eubœans every where took arms, attacked the Macedonian garrisons, and compelled them entirely to evacuate the island. For this action Demosthenes was honoured by his countrymen with a golden crown.

The loss of Eubœa was ill compensated to Philip by the military operations which he was then carrying on against Perinthus. Having scoured the plain with his cavalry, he exhausted in the siege of that place all the military skill known to the ancients. He raised towers forty cubits high, undermined the fortifications, and made use of the battering rams in effecting a breach in the walls; but notwithstanding all his endeavours,

endeavours, the inhabitants of Byzantium contrived means to throw succours into the city. Philip, therefore, formed the resolution of besieging that city also; and his perseverance would probably have surmounted every obstacle, had not Phocion arrived to their assistance.

Philip had sent a conciliating but deceitful letter to Athens, intimating that he wished for nothing more than to maintain peace and friendship with that republic; and that on his part he would endeavour to preserve inviolate the treaty by which they stood mutually engaged: but Demosthenes fully convinced the people of the artifices and duplicity of Philip; and principally by his eloquence it was, that the public councils were animated with a degree of energy and enthusiasm which had not appeared in them during many years. These vigorous exertions produced the last transitory glimpse of success and splendour, before the glory of Athens was extinguished for ever.

Phocion was received by the Byzantines with open arms. They expected that under such a commander, their auxiliaries would be equally modest and inoffensive in their quarters, as they would be active and intrepid in the field. Nor were they disappointed in their expectation. The arms of Philip were foiled in every rencounter; his artifices were met and eluded by similar address; nor could he expect to obtain any advantage over an opponent brave and prudent. The Macedonian monarch therefore, whose flexibility in varying his measures was equal to his firmness in adhering to his purposes, raised the siege of Byzantium, and evacuated she northern shore of the Propontis. Phocion retook such places

as

B.C. 339. as were garrisoned by the Macedonians, captured many ships, and ravaged with fire and sword the hereditary dominions of Philip. Great and solemn honours were decreed to Athens on account of these meritorious services; and Phocion who executed, and Demosthenes who advised the measure, in consequence of which so much glory was acquired, received the grateful applause of their country. Many years after this, the orator boasted, that the Athenians could not name any other counsellor, any other statesman, by whose means the republic had been so much honoured.

Philip, after having been obliged to raise the siege of Byzantium, marched his army against Atheas, a Scythian prince, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent. He totally defeated the Scythians in a general engagement, and obtained from them much booty. This, however, did not consist in gold or silver, the use and value of which that people were not as yet so unhappy as to know: but Philip reaped such fruits from his expedition as might be expected by a victory over a people who had no king but their general, no god but their sword, and no cities but the ground on which they occasionally encamped, with their herds and families. The spoil consisted of arms, chariots, twenty thousand captives, and a greater number of mares, intended to replenish the studs of Pella.

Whilst Philip marched southward, at the head of an army encumbered with baggage and spoil, a very unexpected event happened, which had nearly blasted all his laurels, and terminated at once his glory and his life. The Triballi, al-

lured by the hope of sharing the plunder of the Scythians, beset by ambush, and vigorously assaulted the Macedonians, entangled as they were amidst the intricate windings of the mountains of Masia. The king of Macedon, though fond of employing stratagem, assumed the hero when necessity required, and endeavoured "to eke out the fox's with the lion's skin." He encouraged by his voice and example the astonished and disheartened Macedonians, and fought with unexampled bravery, until a weapon pierced his horse, and laid Philip senseless on the ground. Alexander, who fought near him, saved the life of his father by covering him with his shield, and defending him by his sword; and the Triballi were finally put to the route.

After this unforeseen delay, Philip marched in haste through Thrace, and, as he had reason to expect, was met by deputies from the Amphictyonic council, by whom he was appointed general of their forces, and requested to proceed towards Greece with all convenient speed. The secret practices and intrigues, which had been ripening during the Scythian expedition, produced this extraordinary message, which, as they formed the knot of a tragedy that involved the fate of Greece, deserve to be distinctly unravelled.

Philip, who was accurately informed that the Athenians were making great preparations for carrying on a vigorous war with him, became greatly alarmed: but though he was highly provoked at the conduct of the Athenians, who were the continual opposers of his greatness, he knew not how to retaliate their injuries. If he marched to attack Attica, through the Theban and Thessalian

Thessalian territories, the inhabitants of those states, who were ever selfish and capricious, would be ready to join his enemies, should he not always prevail; and his late unfortunate expedition against the cities of the Propontis, rendered such an attempt extremely unfavourable: and as the Athenian far exceeded the Macedonian fleet, there was no prospect of attacking successfully the enemy by sea.

In this emergency, he was applied to by an exile named Antiphon, who, having surreptitiously usurped the rights and honours of the city of Athens, was driven from thence with ignominy. Stung with disappointment and rage, he offered to execute any enterprise, however bloody or desperate. It was therefore agreed that Antiphon should return in disguise to Athens, insinuate himself into the Piræus, and lie there concealed, until he found means to set fire to the Athenian docks, and thus destroy at once the chief hope of the republic. Whilst, therefore, the artful Philip eluded the power of his enemies by traversing the wilds of Scythia, the insidious Antiphon lodged himself without suspicion in the harbour of Piræus. The place glowed with the ardour of preparation, and new masses of tar, timber, and other materials, proper for the fleet and for the purpose of the traitor, were daily accumulated. The vigilance, however, of Demosthenes discovered the desperate design, and Antiphon was dragged from his concealment, and a reluctant confession of his intentions extorted from him by torture.

His other scheme unhappily succeeded, and in its consequences destroyed the liberties of Greece. Philip procured Æschines, one of his

 creatures,

his creatures, to be sent as deputy from Athens to the Amphictyonic council. By the time that he had taken his seat in this assembly, a question arose whether the Locrians of Amphissa had not been guilty of sacrilege and impiety, in plowing the fields of Cirrha, situated in the neighbourhood of the temple at Delphos. The sentiments of the deputies differing on this subject, Æschines, in the ardour of patriotic indignation, which he knew how to assume, harangued the council in a speech as energetic as Demosthenes himself ever uttered. He read to the assembly the decree of Apollo, which condemned the harbour and lands of Cirrha to perpetual desolation.

The warmth of Æschines occasioned a tumult in the council; at length, however, it was resolved, that the houses and plantations on the Cirrhean plain should be destroyed. The persons appointed by the Amphictyons to perform this pious devastation, met with no opposition; but, on their return towards the temple, were overtaken and attacked by a numerous party of Amphisseans, who took many prisoners, and pursued the rest to Delphos. The signal of war was now raised; and Æschines, that he might finish what he had so well begun, procured the council of the Amphictyons, to nominate the Macedonian monarch general of the army, that should be employed against the impious and detestable Amphisseans.

Though the Macedonians alone seemed far more numerous, than was necessary to reduce the Amphisseans, Philip dispatched circular letters throughout most parts of Greece, and required the assistance of their combined arms to revenge

revenge the insults of the Amphictyons and of Apollo. The Thebans, more intimidated by a powerful army in their neighbourhood, than inclined to the Macedonians, sent a small body of forces to join the troops of Philip. But the Lacedæmonians, who had long beheld the measures of Greece with disgust, and envying the power of Macedonia which they were unable to oppose, determined to adhere to a strict and sullen neutrality. The Athenians awakened by the powerful eloquence of Demosthenes to a just sense of their danger, opposed Phillip with ten thousand mercenaries, and despised the threats of the oracle, against those who took part with the impious Amphisseans. Demosthenes asserted that, on this occasion, the Pythian priestess and her ministers were bribed to Philippise, or to prophesy as best suited the interests of Philip; while, on the other hand, Æschines accused his adversary of receiving sums of money, and an annual pension, to abet the impiety of Amphissa. The Macedonian monarch waited for no other reinforcements than that which he had received from Thebes, but immediately besieged, took, and garrisoned that unfortunate city. He also attacked the Athenian mercenaries put them to flight, and spread the terror of his arms over all the neighbouring country.

When these events were known at Athens, it occasioned great consternation. The citizens who could not tear themselves from their pleasures, that they might defend Amphissa, now considered the moment as approaching, in which it would be necessary to defend their own walls against the victorious invader. An embassy was almost immediately sent to Philip, craving a suspension

a suspension of hostilities; at the same time also, their ablest orators were dispatched to rouse the animation of the Greeks, and to unite them against a barbarian, who, under the pretence of avenging the injuries of Apollo, and of the Grecian states, meditated nothing less than the complete subjugation of their common country. Many of the communities of Greece favourably received the ambassadors; but Thebes fluctuated between uncertain councils, and equally hated the rivalship of Athens, and the tyranny of Phillip. It was necessary, that the Macedonian monarch should march through the Theban territory, before he could invade Attica. The decision, therefore, of that people, was, at the present moment, of peculiar importance.

That he might fix their wavering irresolution, and awaken their sensibility, Philip seized upon Elatæa, a city in the Theban territory of considerable importance. It was late in the evening, when the Athenians were made acquainted with this action of the Macedonian monarch; and the tumult, which the news of the event occasioned in the city, may be more easily conceived than described. Before dawn, however, the confusion ceased; the citizens assembled; the senators took their places; and the president reported the alarming intelligence, that Philip had seized upon the city of Elatæa, distant only two days march from Attica; a herald then, according to custom, proclaimed, "That whoever had any thing to offer on the present emergency, should ascend the rostrum, and propose his advice." The invitation though frequently repeated, was received with silence and dismay. The magistrates, the generals, and the orators,

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were all present, but none obeyed the summons, which Demosthenes calls the voice of their country imploring their assistance.

At length, however, that accomplished orator arose, undaunted and unmoved amid this scene of horror. By the speech he made, he obtained the noblest triumph of patriotism, and proposed advice equally prudent, generous and successful. He told the Athenians, that had not the Thebans been hostile to the designs of Philip, he would have seized some city, not on the Theban, but the Athenian territory. He exhorted them to shake off that unmanly terror which had surprised them, and to fear rather for their neighbours, whose territories were more immediately threatened; and then continued, "Let your forces march without delay to Eleusis, and prove to the Thebans and to all Greece, that as those who have betrayed their country are supported by the Macedonian monarch, so you are ready to protect, with your hereditary courage and fortune, all that will fight for the liberty of Greece. Let an embassy at the same time be sent to Thebes, to remind the citizens of that state of the many favours conferred by your ancestors; assure them that you consider them as friends; and inform them that the Athenians have forgot all recent hostilities with Greece; and will never forsake the cause of their common country, which is actually, in a peculiar manner, the cause of Thebes. Offer, therefore, your services to that community at the present juncture; and require nothing for whatever you can now render them; assure them, that you are sensible of the dangers to which they are exposed, and ready to defend them to the utmost of your power."

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These proposals of Demosthenes were received with universal applause, and the orator drew up a formal decree for carrying them into execution, which may be considered as the expiring voice of a people, who had once determined, that when every thing mortal perished, the fame of Athens should still survive. Demosthenes was instantly chosen to head the embassy, which he had so strongly recommended. The same undaunted spirit that dictated the decree, accompanied the Athenian orator to Thebes, and he triumphed over the intrigues of Amyntas and Clearchus, and over the eloquence of Python, who were the emissaries and creatures of Philip. The citizens of Thebes passed a decree, that the proffered assistance of Athens should be received with gratitude; and the Athenian army having soon after taken the field, was admitted within the Theban walls, and treated with the greatest kindness.

In the mean time, Philip having advanced towards the Bœotian frontier, the confederates attacked his advanced parties and routed them in two rencounters. Regardless of these losses, he marched his army, consisting of thirty-two thousand men, to the plain of Cheronæa. This plain was considered by Philip as admirably suited to the operations of the Macedonian Phalanx. The ground for his encampment, and afterward the field of battle, were chosen with equal skill. Near the place, and within view, was a statue of Hercules, who was the founder of his race: some oracles had also announced, that this should be the scene of desolation and woe to Greece.

On the other hand, the Athenians had left their city, inattentive to any other omen, but the cause

cause of their country. The combined army amounted to thirty-thousand men, animated by the noblest design, the emancipation of their country from the yoke of tyranny. Their generals, whose names were Chares, Lysicles, and Theagenes, were men very unfit for their station, all creatures of cabal, tools of faction, and slaves of interest or voluptuousness. As they were appointed to command the only states, whose shame, rather than virtue, opposed the public enemy, it is sufficiently evident, that Greece was ripe for destruction.

On the eve of that day, which was to decide the fate of Greece, Diogenes, the cynic, who had long beheld both parties with contempt, was induced by curiosity to visit the camp, as an unconcerned spectator. The Macedonians being ignorant of his person and character, carried him to the king. Philip expressed surprize, that a stranger should presume to visit his camp, and asked him, with severity, whether he came as a spy? "Yes," said Diogenes, "to spy out your vanity and ambition, who thus wantonly set your life and kingdom to the hazard of an hour."

The day now approached for abolishing the tottering independence of those republics, whose internal vices and the arms and intrigues of Philip for twenty-two years had been gradually undermining. Before the sun was risen, both armies were in battle array: Philip headed the right wing of the army, which was opposed to the fury of the Athenians; and his son Alexander, then only nineteen years of age, surrounded by experienced officers, commanded the left wing which faced the Sacred Band of the Thebans. The auxiliaries of both armies were placed in the centre. The Athenian

Athenians at the beginning of the action, charged the enemy with great impetuosity, and repelled the opposing divisions; but the youthful ardour of Alexander bore down all before him, and compelled the Thebans to retire, after the Sacred Band had been cut off to a man. The activity of the young prince soon put the enemy to the rout, and pursued the scattered multitude with his Thessalian cavalry.

In the mean time, the Athenian generals too much elated by their success, neglected to improve it. They had repelled the centre and left wing of the Macedonians, and nothing now remained but the phalanx, commanded by Philip in person. Instead however of attempting to break this formidable body, the insolent and inexperienced Lysicles cried out, "Pursue my brave countrymen! let us drive the cowards to Macedon." Philip perceived their error, and said, "The enemy know not how to conquer." The phalanx then attacked the Athenian troops, whose confidence of success had rendered them insensible of danger. The irresistible shock of the Macedonian spear converted their fury into despair. More than a thousand fell; two thousand were taken prisoners; and the rest escaped by a precipitate and shameful flight. Here it was that the great orator and statesman, whose eloquence and patriotism had roused the courage of his countrymen, betrayed that weakness which tarnished the glory of his character. Of all the Athenians, he alone advanced to the charge cold and dismayed; but as soon as the Macedonians repelled their adversaries, in an agony of grief and despair, he turned his back, cast away his shield on which was inscribed in golden charac-

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ters, "To Good Fortune," and fled with the foremost. Few of the confederates perished; but more of the Thebans were killed, than taken prisoners. Philip perceiving his victory complete commanded with a clemency unusual in that age, that the vanquished should be spared. This was an action not less honourable to his head, than his heart; and his humanity subdued the minds and gained the affections of his conquered enemies, whose glory was sunk, to rise no more.

B. C. 338. After the battle, according to the Grecian custom, an entertainment succeeded. Philip with his usual intemperance, protracted the treat until morning, when he issued forth with his licentious companions to visit the field of battle. The thoughts of the victory he had obtained transported him beyond measure: he abandoned himself to all the levity and littleness of the most petulant joy; and with an air of burlesque and merriment, sung the beginning of the decree, which Demosthenes had drawn up as a declaration of war against him. It was on this occasion that Demades, the Athenian orator, who was one of the prisoners, at once rebuked the folly, and flattered the ambition of Philip, by asking him, why he assumed the character of Thersites, when nature had given him that of Agamemnon.

Whatever might be the effect of this sharp reproof, it is certain, that the Macedonian monarch indulged not on any future occasion a vain triumph over the vanquished. It is said by Plutarch, that the speech of Demades wrought a thorough change on him; and he was so far from being offended at the orator, that he not only set him

him at liberty, but treated him ever afterwards with kindness and respect. All the Athenian prisoners were restored without ransom, and when they departed demanded their baggage. The king gratified them in this particular also, and pleasantly observed, that the Athenians seemed to think he had not conquered them in earnest. The discharge of the Athenian prisoners is ascribed in a great measure to Demades, who is said to have softened the disposition of Philip, which made him confess that his frequent intercourse with the Athenian orators, had been of great use to him in correcting his morals.

On the contrary, Justin represents the behaviour of the Macedonian monarch, after the battle of Chæronæa, in a very different point of view. He alledges that Philip took great pains to dissemble his joy; that he affected extreme modesty and compassion, and was not seen to laugh; that he refused any sacrifice, crowns, or perfumes; that he forbade all kinds of sports, and would have nothing done which might make him appear to the conquerors as elated, and to the conquered as insolent. It is certain, that after the first transports of his joy were over, he dispatched his son Alexander, and Antipater, the most confidential of his ministers, to offer peace to the Athenians, on such favourable terms as they had no reason to expect: but the Thebans deeply experienced the indignation of the conqueror. Philip considered himself as entitled to treat that people not as open and generous enemies, whose attempts to retain their freedom deserved his clemency, but as faithless and insidious rebels; and their deserting his alliance, occasioned them to be treated with much severity. He punished the republican

republican party in Thebes with unrelenting rigour; restored the traitors, whom they had banished, to the first honours of the republic; and in order to establish and secure their government, placed a garrison of Macedonians in the Theban citadel.

The most probable opinion, respecting the conduct of Philip in his opposite treatment of the two republics, appears to be, that he was neither swayed by affection nor hatred; that his generosity and rigour were alike artificial, and both subservient to his interest. The Thebans had too long, and too early abandoned the cause of Greece, and become partisans of Philip in endeavouring to extend and establish the Macedonian greatness, to acquire much reputation in one unsuccessful attempt against their late master; whilst on the other hand the Athenians had always opposed the views of that prince, though not with that activity and prudence which the emergency of affairs seemed to require. Through the whole course of his reign, they had endeavoured to traverse his measures, and always spurned his authority. Previously to the fatal battle at Chæronæa, they had attempted to raise a general confederacy; and when hat failed they had determined almost unassisted and alone, to resist the common foe. To have treated the Athenians, therefore, with rigour, must have shocked the sentiments, and exasperated the hatred of every Grecian citizen, who retained the faintest tincture of ancient principles, or who was still animated by the smallest spark of public spirit.

Philip knew his interest too well, to sully in such a manner the glory, and risk the fruits of victory.

victory. As soon as it was known at Athens that their countrymen had been completely discomfited at Chæronæa, the whole city was filled with tumult and confusion; but when the disorder ceased, the people seemed by universal consent, disposed to place the whole of their confidence in arms, none in the mercy of Philip. Hyperides the orator proposed, that their wives, children and most valuable effects, should be sent to Piræus. This was decreed and the rights and freedom of the city were bestowed on strangers and slaves, provided they would exert themselves in repelling the enemy. Demosthenes also proposed, and it was passed into a decree, that the walls and fortifications of the city should be repaired, a work which the orator being appointed to superintend, he generously accomplished at the expence of his private fortune.

Amid these transactions, Lycurgus in a warm harangue undertook the impeachment of Lysicles, whose inexperience and want of ability had principally occasioned the defeat at Chæronæa; and the indignation of the auditors was excited to such a degree, that Lysicles was hurried away to execution.

It does not appear, that Chares underwent any prosecution for his share of the same action. This exemption however, must not be imputed to any ability or courage, which he displayed more than his colleagues; since he had no talent for command, and differed very little from a common soldier. Of him it was that Timotheus said, "instead of being a general, he is fitter to carry the general's baggage."

During the important events of the Macedonian war, and the melancholy consequences that

that immediately followed, a set of Athenian citizens, distinguished by their rank and fortune, and generally known from the number of their original institution by the name of the sixty, daily assembled. In this meeting all serious transactions were treated with levity and ridicule, and they devoted their time to gaming, feasting, and the sprightly exercises of wit and pleasantry. The members of this society beheld with great unconcern their fellow-citizens arming themselves for a battle, which was to decide the fate of Athens and of Greece. With the most careless indifference, they heard of the death, or captivity of their countrymen, though they themselves were thereby reduced to dependence and slavery; nor could the public calamities disturb, in any manner, their festivity, or interrupt for a moment the tranquil course of their pleasures. Philip being made acquainted with this corrupt and unmanly institution, sent them a sum of money, that they might be induced to carry on an undertaking so favourable to his views. It was not, therefore, to be expected, that a republic so totally degenerate, as to foster such wretches within its bosom, could successfully wage war with an enemy so vigilant and enterprising.

The wisest persons of the community saw the prudence of accepting the peace offered by Philip; accordingly, ambassadors were sent to treat with the king of Macedon, upon the terms he proposed. In the number of these ministers, was Demochares, an irreconcileable enemy of Philip, and a strenuous promoter of the war. He acquitted himself on this occasion, with that ridiculous petulance which naturally flowed from

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his character. At their audience of leave, Philip, with less sincerity than politeness, lavished his praises on the ambassadors, and asked if there were any thing more, in which he could serve their republic? "Yes," replied Demochares, "hang thyself." The just indignation of all present, broke forth against this unprovoked insolence; but Philip, with wonderful coolness, and moderation, silenced the clamour, by saying, "Let this ridiculous brawler depart unmolested." He then turned to the other ambassadors, and bid them tell their countrymen, that those who can utter such outrages, are less just and moderate, than he who can pardon them.

Demosthenes was appointed to pronounce the funeral oration in honour of those, who had fallen at Chæronæa. The complexion of the times, however, admitted not those daring flights to which he had been used to soar; and the genius of the orator seems to have fallen with the fortunes of his country.

Philip having thus completely effected the conquest of Greece, immediately turned his thoughts towards his Asiatic expedition; and in consequence of his being president of the Amphictyonic council, and the illustrious victory he had gained at Chæronæa over the only communities that opposed his greatness, he was considered as the most likely person, for conducting the united force of Greece and of Macedon. This was an office which he might have assumed without blame, but which he condescended to solicit from the impartial suffrages of the people. In consequence of this he was appointed general of the confederacy; and the Grecian troops, exclusive of the Macedonians, amounted to two hundred

hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. This was a force, which the dissentions prevalent among the Greeks, had hitherto prevented them from supposing, that their country could furnish.

In the midst, however, of these designs, domestic discord shook the palace of Philip. It might be difficult to account for a misunderstanding that took place between Philip and Olympias, which occasioned him to divorce his wife, and to marry Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus. Alexander defended the rights of Olympias and of himself, with the impetuosity natural to his character. At the nuptial feast, an open rupture broke out between the imperious father, and his more imperious son. Attalus told Philip, in the hearing of the young prince, that the Macedonians hoped he would now give them a lawful heir to the throne. Alexander no sooner heard these words, than in the heat of his resentment, he cried out, "Wretch, do you then say that I am a bastard?" and instantly darted his goblet at Attalus, who returned the outrage with double violence. Clamour and confusion arose, and the king provoked at this disturbance, immediately drew his sword, and forgetting that he was lame, made towards his son. His precipitation, and the quantity of wine in which he had by this time indulged, contributed to disappoint his rashness, and he stumbled and fell on the floor. The courtiers interposed; and Alexander now forgetting, that the person whom he addressed, was his father and his prince, said, "Behold, ye Macedonians! this is the king who is preparing to lead you into Asia. See where in passing

from one table to another, he is fallen to the ground."

The dexterity of Philip, however, extricated him from the difficulties in which he was involved. He contrived to soften Alexander, by assuring him, that his illustrious merit, which was alike known and admired in Greece and Macedon, had not escaped the anxious vigilance of a parent, who, though he had given him many rivals to the throne, thereby gave him an opportunity of surpassing them all in glory, and in the merited affection of the Macedonians. These condescensions soothed the young prince, and Olympias and Alexander again made their appearance at court, from which they had of late absented themselves. That he might announce and establish his happy reconciliation with his family, he gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, the brother of his former queen Olympias. Their nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence, and a festival that continued for many days crowned the marriage. During these ceremonies, the Greeks and Macedonians vied with each other in their obsequious respect towards their common general and master.

In the midst of the tumultuous proceedings of this festivity, Philip relying on the fidelity and attachment of his subjects, frequently appeared in public without guards; but whilst he was going one day from the palace to the theatre, he was stabbed to the heart by Pausanias, a Macedonian. It is uncertain whether the assassin was stimulated to commit this atrocious act by private resentment, or whether he was prompted to his purpose by the ill-appeased rage of Olympias,

Olympias, or instigated thereto by the Persian satraps; on account of the intended expedition against Asia. Alexander however inclined, or pretended to incline, to this last opinion; and therefore alledged the assassination of his father as a reason why he invaded the Persian empire.

B. C. 336. Thus fell Philip, king of Macedon, in the forty-seventh year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was the first prince, whose life and actions the page of history hath described with such regular accuracy and detail, that the administration of this monarch is rendered a subject of instruction and amusement to all succeeding ages. If we consider his character, we shall find that he possessed foresight and sagacity peculiar to himself, and that he united the several prominent features, that distinguish the Grecian nation; valour, eloquence, address, flexibility in varying his measures, without changing his purpose, the most extraordinary powers of application and perseverance. If he had not been interrupted in the middle of his career, it seems more than probable, that he would have subdued the Persian empire. The exploits he had already performed, justify this opinion, since the invasion of Asia was a more dazzling, but less difficult enterprize, than the subjugation of Greece.

But even supposing that he had attained the height of his wishes; that having already subjected Greece, he should also have subdued Persia; and that his victories and conquests should have made him the most powerful, as he already was the greatest monarch upon earth; where is there a man of sense and probity that would purchase the imagined grandeur and prosperity

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of the Macedonian king, at the price of his artifices and his crimes. By the philosopher, who considered either the duplicity of his conduct or the probable consequences that would arise from his extended dominion, the busy ambition of this mighty conqueror would be despised, and appear only as a splendid scene of misery.

The news of Philip's death excited universal joy throughout Greece, and particularly in Athens. In that city the people decorated themselves with garlands, and decreed a crown to Pausanias, the assassin of the Macedonian king. The Athenians sacrificed to the gods for this deliverance, and triumphed as if they had slain Philip in battle. This excess of joy was very unbecoming, and seemed an ungenerous and unmanly insult upon the ashes of a murdered prince, and of a man whom they had so lately revered, and crouched to with the greatest servility. Demosthenes drew the people into these testimonies of excessive joy: having received information of the death of Philip, he went into the assembly unusually gay and chearful, with a chaplet on his head, and in a rich habit, though it was then but the seventh day after the death of his daughter; and though the gladness which his conduct thus occasioned in the minds of the Athenian people, was improper and indecent, yet did Demosthenes thereby fully demonstrate his patriotism, who would not permit his domestic sufferings to interfere with the prosperity of the republic, which he vainly imagined was to result from the catastrophe of the first Macedonian monarch.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Death of Philip, to the Battle of Arbela, which secured Alexander the dominion of Asia.

ALEXANDER immediately ascended the throne of Macedon, upon the death of his father, and took possession of a kingdom, which the policy of the preceding reign had rendered flourishing and powerful.

Ambition and an ardent thirst after glory, even from his most tender years, were what prevailed most in the mind of the young prince. Philip valued himself much for his eloquence and the beauty of his style; and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins the several victories which he won at the Olympic games in the chariot race; but this was not the kind of glory after which Alexander aspired. When his friends asked him whether he would not become a competitor for the prizes in the above games, he answered yes, provided that kings should be his antagonists.

Whenever news was brought to him, that Philip had taken some city, or gained some great battle, he was accustomed to say, in a melancholy tone of voice, "Friends! my father will possess himself of every thing, and leave nothing for us to do."

Several preceptors were appointed to teach him all such arts and sciences, as were worthy the heir of a great kingdom. One of these was Leonidas,

Leonidas, a person of austere morals, and a relation of Olympias. Alexander says, that when they were on their journies, Leonidas would examine his trunks in which were beds and clothes, that he might see whether Olympias his mother had not put something superfluous into them, which might administer to delicacy and luxury.

In every branch of learning, which it was thought necessary that he should be taught, he made an astonishing progress. We have already mentioned, that at the age of thirteen, he became a pupil of the famous Aristotle. Nor did the young prince conceive less esteem for that philosopher, than his father Philip had also entertained; but he went farther, and declared, that though he was indebted to Philip for his existence, yet he was equally indebted to Aristotle for teaching him to make a proper use of it. Under such a master, the happy genius of Alexander expanded, and soon comprehended the principles of the whole circle of philosophy. The chief care of Aristotle was, to form the judgment of his pupil, that he might be able to distinguish, by the help of proper rules, just and accurate reasoning from mere sophistry. Morals, too, in all their ramifications, were taught the prince with great minuteness and attention; since the philosopher considered them as the only foundation of prudence and knowledge. When he instructed Alexander in rhetoric, he took particular pains to acquaint him, what species of eloquence, in a more particular manner, was necessary for a king to make use of. The diction of a prince ought, he said, to abound more with solid reasoning, than with figurative expressions; that it ought to be strong and nervous, rather than

than florid; and that it should rest more on facts than on words.

The works of Homer were the particular study and delight of the youthful prince, and continued to be so in his riper years. The Iliad he was wont to consider as the noblest production of the human mind; for he discovered in it those sentiments which were worthy of a king, and of a conqueror. The ambitious desires which now began to inflame the breast of Alexander, in all probability, made him relish still more the productions of the Grecian bard; and he perceived in them the instances of that valour and magnanimity with which he himself was actuated. The verse in Homer which is said to have given him most pleasure was that in which Agamemnon is represented as a good king, and a brave warrior.

It is well known, that after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians having found among the spoils of Darius, a box of gold enriched with precious stones, in which that prince was accustomed to put his perfumes, Alexander who was covered with dust, and regardless of those things to the use of which it had been appropriated, commanded that it should be set apart for containing the writings of Homer. He had always with him that edition of the Grecian poet's productions, which Aristotle revised and corrected, and which he constantly laid with his sword, every night under his pillow.

Plutarch tells us, that he loved to converse with learned men, and to read their writings; two admirable sources of happiness to a prince, and which enabled him to preserve himself from numberless misfortunes, and to reign without the

the assistance of others. On the fine arts, such as music, sculpture, and architecture, he bestowed that attention which they seemed to deserve from a prince, and sufficient to give him an idea of their value and use. Alexander was also of a lively disposition; was resolute, and very tenacious of his opinion; but would always submit to reason and good sense.

He very early became an expert horseman: Bucephalus, a noble, strong, Thessalian horse, which had been sent as a present to Philip, was found totally ungovernable, and no person durst venture to ride him. Alexander, however, requested permission from his father, that he might mount the unruly steed. Philip at first refused his consent, but being pressed by the young prince, yielded at length to his intreaties. Alexander then springing upon the back of the horse, managed him so dexterously, that all present admired and applauded him. It was on this occasion that Philip shed tears of joy, and embracing Alexander, said, "My son, seek some other kingdom more worthy of thy notice, for Macedon is below thy merit." It is said, that when this horse was saddled and ready for battle, he would suffer no other person to mount him or go near him; that he leaned down on his knees to receive his master upon his back; that after being mortally wounded in the battle against Porus, he saved the life of Alexander, by carrying him through the crowd of enemies, and then expired; and that his master shed tears for his death, and in memory of him, built on the banks of the Hydaspis, a city called Bucephala.

A prince, who is his own minister, and the only

only depositary of his secrets, commonly leaves an arduous task for the labours of his successor. This difficulty presented itself to Alexander, upon his ascending the throne of Macedonia; nor was this the only circumstance which rendered his situation arduous. Other competitors arose to share with him the government of the kingdom; but having crushed these dangerous enemies, he hastened into Greece to reap the fruits of his father's labours. During his stay at Corinth, curiosity led him to visit Diogenes the cynic. He found him basking in the sun, and having revealed himself to the philosopher, as the master of Macedon and Greece, enquired if he could do any thing to oblige him? "Yes," replied the philosopher, "by standing from between me and the sun." Upon which the king observed to his attendants, that if he were not Alexander, he would choose to be Diogenes. The cynic, however, found in his tub that independence of mind, which the monarch, amidst all his gratifications could never attain.

Alexander, being appointed general of the combined army destined to invade Asia, returned to Macedon, and prepared for his eastern expedition, by diffusing among the northern barbarians the terror of his name. He, therefore, marched his army to the banks of the Danube, which he crossed in one night, and attacking the Triballi in a general engagement, totally defeated them. He then prepared to meet the Getæ; but that people fled at his approach. Here it was that the Boïi and Senones Celtic or German tribes, sent ambassadors to Alexander, who, observing their lofty stature and haughty spirit, endeavoured to humble

 them,

them, by asking "what of all things they most feared?" not doubting but they would answer "yourself." They, however, replied "the fall of heaven." The king declared them his friends, but observed to those around him, "the Celtæ are an arrogant people."

In the mean time, a report having been industriously spread throughout Greece, that Alexander was dead, the Athenian orators displayed their usual boldness; the Lacedæmonians imagined themselves at the head of the revolt; but the Thebans committed the first acts of rebellion, and slew Amyntas and Timolaus, commanders of the citadel, and expelled the Macedonian garrison. No sooner was Alexander apprised of these proceedings, than he marched his army towards Bœotia; but as he approached Thebes, he frequently halted, that he might allow the insurgents time to repent of their rashness. Instead, however, of shewing any remorse for their past crimes, they sent forth their cavalry and light infantry, who assaulted and slew the Macedonian out-guards.

Exasperated by these insults, Perdiccas, who commanded the advanced party, without waiting for orders from Alexander, attacked the Theban wall; a breach was soon effected, but the enemy receiving them warmly, Alexander went with the rest of his forces to their assistance. The Thebans were then repulsed in turn; but again rallying their flying troops, repelled the assailants, and pursued them in disorder. Alexander perceived their error, and immediately attacked them with a close phalanx. His assault had the desired effect; the Thebans were put to the rout, and fled amain. Such was their

trepidation

trepidation, that having entered the gates of their city, they neglected to shut them upon their pursuers; and the Macedonian and their Greek auxiliaries thus rushed tumultuously into the place.

The Phocians, Orchomenians, and Platæans, the allies of Alexander, rejoiced at such an opportunity of gratifying their resentment against Thebes. The greater part of the citizens, amounting to more than thirty thousand, were put to the sword, or dragged into captivity, while a feeble remnant escaped to Athens. The ancient city of Cadmus was erased to the ground; but the citadel was still garrisoned by Macedonian troops, who might overawe the neighbouring territory. The severities with which Thebes was treated, were occasioned by the instigation of the Grecian auxiliaries. The few acts of forbearance or mercy that appeared in this lamentable transaction, flowed from the humanity of Alexander alone. By his particular orders the house and family of Pindar were saved from the general destruction.

B. C. 335.

It happened in the sack of Thebes that a band of fierce Thracians broke into the house of Timoclea, an illustrious Theban matron, the ornament of her sex. The soldiers plundered her house, while their commander violated her person. Having gratified his lust, he was next stimulated by avarice, and demanded that she should give him up the gold and silver in her possession. The matron, therefore, conducted him into a garden, and shewed him a well, into which, during the tumult in the town, she pretended to have thrown her most valuable treasure. The Thracian with great avidity stooped

to grasp it, while the violated Timoclea being behind, pushed him headlong into the cistern, and covered him with stones. The soldiers having seized the woman, carried her in chains to Alexander: her firm gait and intrepid aspect commanded the attention of the conqueror. Alexander having learned her crime, asked who she was that could venture to commit so bold a deed? "I am," said she "the sister of Theagenes, who fell at Chæronæa, fighting against Philip, in defence of Grecian freedom." Alexander approved the action and answer of Timoclea, and desired her to depart free with her children.

The Macedonian monarch now prepared to return towards his kingdom; and received many congratulatory addresses from the several communities of Greece. The Athenians sent an embassy to deprecate his resentment against themselves, and to excuse their compassionate treatment of the Theban fugitives. Alexander, however, before he would submit to grant them peace, demanded that the Athenians should give up Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, with five other orators, whose inflammatory conduct had excited the seditious spirit that prevailed in Athens. An assembly was immediately summoned to deliberate on this harsh demand; and the Athenians unanimously passed a decree, that the orators whom Alexander accused, should be tried, and that such punishment should be inflicted on them as their conduct seemed to deserve. Alexander was highly pleased with the readiness of the Athenians to avenge his quarrel, and to punish their offending countrymen. Demades delivered this artful decree to the king, and

and which being brought by an avowed friend to Macedon, was rendered still more acceptable. Amidst the various embassies that were sent to the king, the Spartans alone maintained a sullen or magnanimous silence. Alexander despised, or pretended to despise, their conduct; and he did not even require the contingency of troops, which they ought to have furnished for the intended expedition.

Before Alexander set forward in the expedition against Asia, Parmenio and Antipater, the most respected of his father's counsellors, advised the young king not to march into the east, until he had married and provided heirs for the throne; but these considerations had little effect on the ardent patriotism of Alexander. He remembered that he was chosen general of the Greeks, and that he commanded the invincible troops of his father, and, therefore, prepared for the greatest enterprize that was ever undertaken by any Grecian commander.

Before, however, he set out for Asia, he determined to consult the oracle of Apollo. For that purpose he repaired to Delphos, where he happened to arrive on one of those days which are called unlucky; a time forbidden for consulting the oracle. The priestess, therefore, refused to go to the temple; but Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm, and as he was leading her to prophesy, she cried out, "My son, thou art irresistible." This was all that the king desired, and he declared that he would have no other answer.

He offered up very splendid sacrifices to the gods, and commanded the scenical games that

 had

had been instituted by one of his ancestors, in honour of Jupiter and the Muses, to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedonia. This festival continued nine days, according to the number of those goddesses. A tent was made for him capable of holding a hundred tables, on which nine hundred covers might be laid; and to this feast the several princes of his family, all the ambassadors, generals, and officers, were invited.

He then appointed Antipater viceroy of Macedon and of Greece; and he confided to that general an army of above twenty thousand men, to maintain domestic tranquillity in those countries. He also enquired into the affairs of his friends, and gave to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of a harbour. As the king had already disposed of, and exhausted all the revenues of his demesnes by his donations, Perdiccas said to him, "My lord, what do you reserve for yourself?" "Hope," replied Alexander. Upon which Perdiccas rejoined, "We ought, therefore, to be satisfied with the same hope." For that reason he would not accept what the king had appointed him.

Having completely settled his affairs in Macedonia, and used all the precautions imaginable to prevent any factions from arising during his absence, he departed for Asia early in the spring.

B. C. 334. His army consisted of five thousand horse, and somewhat more than thirty thousand infantry. In twenty days march he arrived at Sestos, on the Hellespont: and from thence the army was conveyed to Asia in an hundred and sixty gallies, and a greater number

of

of transports. The Persians though long apprised of the intended invasion, had totally neglected all means of defending their western frontier; and the army landed without opposition on the Asiatic coast.

The causes of this negligence resulted in some measure from the character of the prince, but still more from that of the nation. Codomannus had obtained the Persian throne by assassination and intrigues, about the time that Alexander became king of Macedon. In the space of about two hundred and thirty years, the Persians had been continually degenerating from the virtues that characterise a poor and warlike nation, though they had not thereby acquired the knowledge and improvements which peace and opulence generally produce; and they seemed devoted to destruction rather by their ignorance of the arts of peace and war, than by their effeminacy and luxury. The provinces had ceased to maintain any regular communication with the capital; and the standing military force was insufficient to awe the distant satraps or viceroys. This mass of nations had never been properly consolidated into one system, and was ready to crumble into pieces at the touch of an invader. We have seen that under the younger Cyrus, twelve thousand Greeks baffled the arms, and almost divided the empire of Persia. We shall not, therefore, have much reason to admire the magnanimity of Alexander in undertaking this expedition, unless we also know, that Darius was a brave and generous prince, beloved by his Persian subjects, and assisted by the valour of fifty thousand Greek mercenaries.

Memnon, the Rhodian, the ablest general in the

the service of Darius, observed to the other commanders how difficult it was to resist the Macedonian infantry; and that having neither magazines nor resources, the safety of the invading army depended on sudden victory. On the contrary, it was the interest, he said, of the Persians to protract the war, and to avoid a general engagement; and that the best means of stopping the enemy would be to destroy all the fruits of the ground, and desolate the whole territory. This advice was, however, despised, and the Persian army encamped on the banks of the Granicus, and waited the approach of the invaders.

As Alexander drew near to this river, he was informed by his scouts of the designs of the enemy, and advanced to give them battle. The phalanx marched by its flank in a double line, the cavalry on the wings, and the baggage and waggons in the rear. In the mean time, Alexander having received intelligence of the disposition of the enemy, and the depth of the river, advanced within sight of the hostile ranks. His horse then spread to the right and left, the massy column of infantry opened, and the whole formed along the bank of the Granicus, in order of battle. The phalanx divided into eight sections, composed the main body which occupied the centre; the Macedonian cavalry formed the right wing; the Grecian the left. The enemy had posted their troops on the slope of a rising ground; their horse amounted to twenty thousand; and their foreign mercenaries, nearly as numerous, were placed behind the cavalry.

When Alexander had made his dispositions for fighting, Parmenio approached, and advised against passing the Granicus in the face of an enemy,

enemy. The river, he said, was deep and full of eddies; the banks were abrupt and craggy; and it would be impossible to march the troops across, with any hopes of succeeding against the enemy. He therefore proposed that the army should remain for some time in its present situation. Alexander, however, determined to pass the river immediately, and mounting his horse, assumed the command of the right wing, whilst Parmenio took that of the left. The Macedonian king then distributed his orders, and the hostile battalions surveyed each other with resentment or terror. The trumpets sounded, and a strong detachment of cavalry entered the river, followed by the king with other troops of horse. When they reached the shore, the Persian cavalry behaved with courage; and the first squadrons of the Macedonians were driven back into the water; but Alexander animated the troops with his voice and arm, maintained his ground on the bank, and thought he had gained the battle when he had obtained the means of fighting.

Meanwhile Parmenio crossed the Granicus with equal success, at the head of the left wing. The attention of the enemy was so much engaged by the successive attacks of the cavalry, that they never opposed the passage of the phalanx. Before this powerful body of infantry had crossed the river, the Macedonian horse had already obtained the fairest honours of the field. The brightness of Alexander's armour distinguished his rank; and he darted into the midst of the Persian nobles. He soon broke his spear, and demanded another from Aretas his master of horse; but his being also broken, Demaratus the Corinthian supplied the king with a weapon.

Thus

Thus armed, he rode up and attacked Mithridates, son-in-law of Darius, who exulted before the ranks. While Alexander beat him to the ground, he was himself struck by Ræsaces with a hatchet. His helmet, however, saved his life; and he pierced the breast of Ræsaces. At that instant a new danger threatened him from the scymitar of Spithridates. The instrument of death was already descending on the head of Alexander, when Clitus cut off the arm of Spithridates, which fell to the ground with the grasped weapon.

The heroism of Alexander animated the whole army; and the enemy first gave way where the king commanded in person. In the left wing the Grecian cavalry must have fought with great bravery, since the Persians had begun on every side to give way, before the infantry had completely passed the river. The stern aspect of the phalanx, shining in steel and bristling with spears, confirmed the victory. Above a thousand Persian horse were slain in the field of battle. The Greek mercenaries who composed the foot, continued in their first position, not firm but inactive, petrified by astonishment, and irresolute what to do. The phalanx, therefore, attacked them in front, while the victorious cavalry assailed their flanks. Thus surrounded on all sides by the enemy, they fell an easy prey. Two thousand surrendered themselves prisoners; but all the rest perished.

The battle of the Granicus proved fatal to many of the Persian commanders. Arsites the chief who recommended this engagement, died in despair by his own hand. In this important battle Alexander lost only eighty-

B. C. 334.

eighty-five horsemen, and thirty light infantry. Of the former twenty-five were of the royal band of *companions*. By command of the king their statues were formed by the art of his admired Lysippus, and erected in the Macedonian city of Dia.

This important victory enabled Alexander to display alike his humanity and prudence. The parents and children of the deceased of his army were thenceforth exempted from every species of tribute. He carefully visited the wounded, and asked them how they had received their hurt. The Persian commanders were interred; and all the Greeks, both officers and soldiers. The Grecian captives were condemned to work in the Thracian mines, as a punishment for bearing arms against the cause of their country. Alexander, however, softened this severity by a very seasonable compliment to the Athenians, whose city was preferred to be the repository of his trophies and renown. Three hundred suits of Persian armour were sent immediately after the battle, as dedications to the goddess Minerva in the citadel. This magnificent present was inscribed with the following words: *Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks (except the Lacedæmonians) gained those spoils from the barbarians that inhabit Asia.*

By the battle of the Granicus, a way was opened to Alexander for subduing Ionia, Caria, Phrygia, and, in a word, all the Asiatic provinces west of the river Halys, which once formed the powerful monarchy of the Lydians. Many of the walled towns opened their gates to the conqueror. Sardis, formerly the splendid capital of Crœsus, once more regained its privileges, and

and was governed by its ancient laws, after having reluctantly endured above two centuries, the cruel yoke of Persia. The Grecian cities on the sea coast were made free and independent, and relieved of the oppression of garrisons. The Ephesians were employed in rebuilding their temple, during the expedition of Alexander against Persia. This temple had been set on fire by Herostratus, above twenty years before that period, and, as it is said, the same night in which the conqueror of the east was born. Their pious and honourable undertaking was encouraged by Alexander, who, that he might accelerate the progress of the building, commanded the tribute which had been paid to the Persians, to be appropriated to the temple of Diana.

Miletus and Halicarnassus were the only cities that retarded the progress of the conqueror. Memnon, the Rhodian, commanded the latter place, and defended it with great vigour. Alexander had no sooner sat down before it, than the garrison, consisting of Greeks and Persians, sallied out of the city, and attacking the invaders, maintained a desperate conflict. Having repelled the besieged with much difficulty, he undertook the laborious work of filling up a ditch thirty cubits broad, and fifteen deep. This had been drawn round the wall by the besieged, with incredible diligence. Having effected this, Alexander commanded wooden towers to be advanced, upon which the Macedonians erected their batteries; by which means the besiegers were able to assault the enemy to greater advantage. A nocturnal sally from the town attacked the preparations; and an engagement ensued, in which three hundred Macedonian soldiers were slain.

Not

Not long after, this city which had so bravely resisted and repelled the assailants, was on the point of being taken by accident. It happened that the battalion of Perdiccas was posted on that side of the wall which faced Miletus. Two soldiers supping together in their quarters, boasted their military exploits, and each preferred his own. Heated with wine, they became emulous, and determined, not indeed with the hope of victory, but with an ambition of displaying their courage, to assault the wall of Halicarnassus. They were soon perceived by the guards of that place, who made ready to repel them, but they slew the first that approached, and cast javelins at those that followed. Before they were borne down by numbers, many of their own party hastened to their relief. The Halicarnassians also advanced to the defence of their city; the wall was attacked, and had greater numbers joined in the assault, the city would have been taken by storm.

Alexander was unwilling to carry matters to such an extremity; but he made fresh and vigorous attempts upon the wall. Several desperate sallies were made by the besieged, who were, nevertheless, always repelled. Still, however, they displayed the same decisive boldness, which had been visible in every part of their defence. During the night they summoned together all their adherents, and set fire to a wooden tower, which had been erected as a defence against the shocks of the enemy's engines, and to protect their arsenals and magazines. Having performed this, they escaped to two neighbouring places of great strength. Alexander having examined the castles, perceived that they could not be

taken in a short space of time, and therefore was under the necessity of demolishing Halicarnassus, that it might not henceforth serve as a retreat to his enemies.

Before leaving Caria, where his impatient activity had been so long detained, he committed the administration of that district to Ada, its ancient governess. The Persian monarch had unjustly deposed her from her authority; when, therefore, Alexander appeared in that province, Ada requested his assistance: and the king having given her the command of the whole district, left three thousand foot and two hundred horse to support her authority. It is said that Ada would have sent to Alexander meats dressed in the most exquisite manner, and the most excellent cooks; but the king told the queen, on this occasion, that he had much better cooks himself, whom his governor Leonidas procured him; one of them prepared him a good dinner, and the other an excellent supper, and these were Temperance and Exercise.

Alexander finding his fleet, though small, and not sufficiently powerful to contend with the enemy, too expensive for his treasury, determined to discharge it; telling his officers, that if he only conquered by land, he could soon render himself master of the sea. According to this judicious plan of conquest, he pursued his journey through the southern provinces of the Asiatic peninsula, while Parmenio traversed the central countries of Lydia and Phrygia. Cleander was sent, at the same time, into Greece, that he might raise new levies, and those soldiers who had married shortly before the expedition were sent home. This latter measure endeared

deared Alexander to the army, and he found no difficulty in procuring supplies from his European subjects, towards the ensuing campaign.

After the decisive battle of the Granicus, Alexander experienced little obstinacy of resistance from the numerous forts and garrisons in lower Asia. In every city or country that he conquered, he restored to the Asiatics their hereditary rights, and to the Greeks their beloved democracy. Whithersoever he marched, useful industry was encouraged, and public burdens were alleviated: his taste and his piety alike prompted him to repair the sacred and venerable remains of antiquity. The barbarians were considered by him not as slaves, but as subjects; and the Greeks not as subjects but as allies. This conduct of the king was such that they acknowledged the moderation and equity of his government far excelled whatever they had before experienced, from the despotism of Persia, and the domineering ambition of Athens and Sparta.

Having received the submission of many cities and sea-ports in Lycia, Alexander, for the greater expedition, divided the corps under his command. A considerable detachment traversed the Lydian and Pamphylian mountains, while the king in person pursued the still more dangerous road that led along the sea-coast from Phaselis to Perga. On this foaming shore the sea commonly beats against the rocks, and renders the passage impracticable, except when the waves are repelled by the north wind. When Alexander began his march, the wind blew from the south; he nevertheless advanced, and hoped that he should be prosperous; and his soldiers were encouraged by many artful prodigies to

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expect a successful event to their undertaking. Before they had reached the main difficulties of the pass, the south wind gradually ceased; the north wind began to blow; and their march was alike easy and expeditious. Josephus in his account of this occurrence, with no less indecency than folly, compares it with the miraculous passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea.

Whilst Alexander proceeded eastward from Perga, ambassadors met him from Aspendus, the principal city and sea-port of Pamphylia. They offered to surrender their city, but requested that Alexander would not burden them with a garrison. The king granted what they desired, on condition that they paid him fifty talents, and delivered him the horses, which they reared as a tribute for Darius. These terms were accepted by the ambassadors, but their countrymen refused to fulfil the agreement. When Alexander was informed of their conduct he marched his army towards Aspendus, the greater part of which was situated on a high and steep rock, almost inaccessible, and washed by the river Eurymedon. Several streets, however, were built on the plain, and surrounded only by a slender wall.

When the king approached the city, the greater part of the inhabitants betook themselves to the mountain. Alexander having entered the place, encamped within the walls, and prepared for besieging the more fortified part of the city. The Aspendians seeing his intentions, became alarmed for their safety, and entreated that he would accept the former conditions; but Alexander demanded that they should deliver the horses which had been agreed on; pay one hundred

hundred instead of fifty talents; deliver up some of their principal citizens as hostages, that they would thenceforth obey the governor whom he should set over them, and submit to an annual tribute.

Having thus chastised the insolence and treachery of the Aspendians, the king resolved to march into Phrygia, that he might join his forces with Parmenio, who had been appointed to meet him in that country. In the same province also the new levies from Macedon and Greece were commanded to rendezvous: and it was intended to proceed eastward early in the spring, and endeavour to achieve still more important and valuable conquests. The city of Gordium in Phrygia was appointed to be the place for assembling the troops. This city is distant about seventy-five miles from the Euxine, and two hundred and forty from the Cilician sea. It was famous in antiquity, as the principal residence of the Phrygian kings, and the chief seat of their opulence and grandeur.

In this city was the ancient castle or palace of Gordius. This man, as was said, was possessed only of a slender fortune, and had but a small piece of land and two yoke of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon. It happened that while Gordius was one day plowing, an eagle alighted on the yoke, and sat there until evening. Gordius, who was unable to divine what this prodigy portended, requested the assistance of the Telmassians. These were a people that inhabited the loftiest mountains in Pisidia, and were celebrated over all the neighbouring countries for their uncommon skill in augury. While he was going to

consult them, he met at the first village of that people a virgin drawing water at a fountain. Having communicated to her the object of his journey, she commanded him to ascend the hill, and offer sacrifices there to Jupiter. Gordius requested that the virgin would accompany him thither, that the sacrifices might be more acceptable. Accordingly, she complied, and Gordius afterwards took her to wife. She bore him a son, named Midas, who, when he was arrived at manhood, was distinguished above all others for his beauty and valour.

Gordius having married a Telmassian virgin, settled in that country, with whose arts his son would naturally become acquainted. It happened, that the Phrygians were at that time harassed by cruel seditions. Having consulted some oracle, they were told that a chariot would soon appear, in which should be a king, who would appease their tumults. The appearance of Midas justified the prediction, and he was unanimously declared sovereign. The sedition which had prevailed ceased, and Midas, in gratitude to Jupiter, consecrated his father's chariot to the god, and suspended it by a cord made of the inner rind of the cornel tree, the knot of which was so nicely tied, that no person could perceive where it began or ended.

When Alexander arrived at Gordium, and found himself under the necessity of remaining there for some time, until the several corps of his army could unite, he expressed an earnest desire to see the chariot of Gordius, and the knot of which such marvellous stories had been told, and which was believed to involve the fate of Asia. It is not known whether he untied or cut

the

the knot, but his followers were fully convinced that he had fulfilled the oracle. As it chanced to thunder also at that time, their credulity was still more confirmed; and the belief that Alexander was destined to be the lord of Asia, doubtless, facilitated that event.

When we consider the rapid progress which Alexander was making in Asia, and his great exertions during that season of the year, in which armies are generally inactive, we must be astonished at the supineness and inactivity of Darius. But the Persian monarch employed on this occasion, secret instruments of destruction. Instead of opposing the Macedonian king boldly in the field, he hoped to hasten his ruin by the arm of an assassin; for that purpose he employed, amongst many others, Alexander, the son of Æropus, in this nefarious undertaking. This man owed his life to the clemency of the son of Philip; he was numbered among those troops that were called companions, and had the command of the Thessalian cavalry. Darius promised him a large sum of money, which entirely obliterated all sentiments of gratitude for Alexander. Parmenio, however, having received information of the conspiracy, communicated the intelligence to the king, and the ungrateful son of Æropus was seized and committed to safe custody.

But though the intrigues of Darius were hitherto unsuccessful, he did not therefore desist from his designs, though he thought proper to have recourse to arms also. He assembled his troops in the plains of Babylon: they consisted of one hundred thousand Persians, of whom thirty thousand were cavalry: but when the army

army was completed it amounted to six hundred thousand men. Since the time of Xerxes, the magnificence and splendour of the Persians had not diminished, nor had their military knowledge increased. In order that he might ascertain the number of his army, Darius commanded that ten thousand men should be formed into a compact body, and surrounded by a palisade. Into this enclosure the whole army passed successively; but they might be thereby said to be measured rather than numbered. Nothing could exceed the magnificence that surrounded the Persian monarch. The trappings of his horses, the rich materials and nice adjustment of his chariot, the profusion of jewels which covered his royal mantle, vest, and tiara, were so costly as to appear almost incredible. The dress, and even the armour of his guards, were adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones. He was attended on this occasion by his whole family, his concubines, and his treasurers, escorted by numerous bodies of troops. The courtiers as usual copied too exactly the effeminate manners and vices of their master.

Alexander having received information that Darius had put his army in motion, proceeded from Gordium towards Ancyra, a city of Galatia. On his arrival at that place messengers came to him from Paphlagonia, who surrendered to the king the whole of that province, but requested that he would not march his troops through that country. Alexander complied with their wishes, and commanded them to obey Calas, satrap of Phrygia. The king then reduced Cappadocia as far as the river Halys, and proceeded forwards to possess himself of Cilicia.

cia. Here were three famous streights or passes; the first at its entrance called the Gates; the second called the streights of Amonus; and the third near the bay of Issus. The army made a rapid march in order to possess themselves of the first of these, and encamped six miles from the Cilician frontier, at a place which, since the memorable expedition performed and described by Xenophon, has retained the name of Cyrus's camp.

Arsames, governor of Cilicia, had sent troops to guard the streight abovementioned, called the Gates. The intelligence of this event, however, did not prevent Alexander from executing his purpose. He led part of his army, at the first watch of the night, to surprise the Persians, placed at the northern gate of Cilicia: at his approach the barbarians fled, and the cowardly Arsames, to whom Darius had entrusted the whole province, prepared to plunder and burn his own capital of Tarsus. Alexander however hastened to that city, and prevented its destruction, and Arsames had scarcely time to escape.

At Tarsus Alexander was unavoidably detained by a malady, occasioned, as some say, by excessive fatigue, but as others affirm by bathing when warm in the cold waters of the Cydmus, which runs through that city. Philip, the Acarnanian, was the only person that despaired not of his life. While this skilful physician was preparing a medicine to aid the recovery of the king, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who had been left behind in Cappadocia, advising him to beware of Philip, who was bribed by Darius to take away his life: the king

king having perused the letter, put it under his pillow. When Philip brought him the potion, he held out the letter, and desired him to read; at the same time also he drank off the mixture with an intrepid countenance, without the least hesitation, or discovering the least suspicion or uneasiness. The physician while he read the letter betrayed greater signs of indignation than of fear. Philip told Alexander, with a resolute tone, that he ought to harbour no uneasiness, and that the recovery of his health would not fail to wipe off all suspicion.

The physic at first wrought so violently, that the accusation of Parmenio was strengthened by the symptoms that appeared; but at length the medicine having gained the ascendant, he began to assume his accustomed vigour, and in about three days, he was able to shew himself to his soldiers, by whom he was equally respected and beloved. He ever afterwards testified the most extraordinary gratitude to the physician, who had assisted his recovery.

The sickness of Alexander did not interrupt the operations of the army. Parmenio was dispatched to make himself master of the second pass, called the strait of Amanus, which divides Cilicia from Assyria. The king followed and reached in one day Anchialos, a city of vast extent, and secured with walls of a great thickness. In that city was the statue of Sardanapalus, in the attitude of clapping his hands, near which was the following inscription which breathed the true spirit of modern Epicurism: "Sardanapalus son of Anacyndaraxas, built Anchialos and Tarsus in one day. With respect to you, stranger! eat,

eat, drink, and sport, for other human things are not worth this." Alluding to the clap of his hands.

Alexander marched his troops to Mallos, an Argive colony at the eastern extremity of Cilicia. Here he was informed, that the Persian monarch was with his forces in the extensive plain of Sochos. The mountains that separate Cilicia from Syria divided the two hostile armies. Alexander hastened forwards, that having passed the straits called the Syrian gates, he might advance to the Issus. Having therefore proceeded through that pass, he encamped before the city Mariandrus. Here he received intelligence, that Darius, having heard of his stay at Tarsus, imputed the delay to a very different motive to what really occasioned it. The courtiers and flatterers of the Persian monarch persuaded that unfortunate prince, that Alexander, instead of being detained at Tarsus by sickness, and by the many pious ceremonies with which he gratefully thanked heaven for his recovery, shunned the approach of the hostile army, and was afraid to meet his antagonist in the field. The proud resentment of the Persian monarch, exasperated by the imagined fears of his opponent, was easily induced to believe the assertions of his parasites. Darius, therefore, never thinking that Alexander would march to the strait near the Issus, and being desirous of bringing the two armies to action, proceeded in an opposite direction through the straits of Amanus, in quest of the Macedonian king. Amyntas the Macedonian, with other Grecian counsellors in the camp of Darius, saw and deprecated the execution of this fatal measure; and they therefore exhorted the Persian monarch

monarch to wait the approach of the enemy, in the present advantageous position of his army.

Darius was however impelled to his ruin, in the language of antiquity, by an irresistible fate, which had ordained, that the Greeks should overturn the Persian, as the Persians had the Median, and the Medes the Assyrian monarchy. Having passed with his troops the defiles of Amanus, he marched southward to the bay of Issus, and took a city of that name, which contained, under a feeble guard, the sick and wounded of the Macedonian army. They had been unable to follow the rest of the troops in their expeditious march across the mountains. Darius commanded those unhappy men to be put to death in the most shocking manner; nor did he once suspect that the avenger of their fate was so near at hand.

Alexander having received intelligence of the enemy's situation, summoned an assembly of his officers. He neglected not to dwell on those topics of encouragement which naturally suggested themselves; and the meanest Macedonian soldier clearly perceived the injudicious movements of the Persians, who had quitted a spacious plain and entangled themselves among intricate mountains, where their cavalry, in which they greatly excelled, could be of no essential service.

The Macedonian king ordered his men to take
B. C. 333. some refreshment; and in the mean while he sent horsemen and archers to clear the road to Issus; then marching in the evening with his whole army, he possessed himself of the Syrian streights. Having allowed his men some time for repose, the troops were in motion at break of day. The Macedonians formed in order of battle, before they reached the river

Pinarus,

Pinarus, on the opposite bank of which the enemy were encamped. Alexander took the right wing, and Parmenio the left, drawing up in battle array between a mountain and the sea. The Persian monarch, having notice of the approach of the enemy, detached a body of fifty thousand cavalry and light infantry across the Pinarus, that his troops might have room to form without confusion. He placed the Greek mercenaries, amounting to thirty thousand men, directly opposite to the Macedonian phalanx; and the Greeks were flanked on both sides by double that number of barbarians. Darius ranged the rest of his troops according to their various nations, in close and unserviceable ranks, behind the first line; but the Persian monarch was every where encumbered by the vastness of a machine which he had not skill to manage.

The pusillanimity of Darius, however, proved more fatal to him than his ignorance. He commanded his men to maintain their post on the Pinarus, the bank of which was in some places high and steep. Where the access seemed more easy, he ordered ramparts to be made to defend his troops from the enemy. These unseasonable precautions evinced to Alexander and to his soldiers, that the mind of Darius was already conquered; a consideration which doubtless facilitated the victory of the Macedonian army. Alexander having, according to custom exhorted the officers and soldiers, gave orders that the troops should proceed slowly, lest the phalanx should fluctuate through too eager a contention. When they came within reach of the enemy's spears, they quickened their motion; and Alexander with his forces around him, sprung into the river.

river. The impetuous attack of the right wing frightened the barbarians on the left, who scarcely waited the first shock; but the Greek mercenaries, who perceived that the assault was principally directed against the left wing of the Persian army, which was separated from the centre, seized the decisive moment of rushing into the interval, where the phalanx was disjointed. Here a most desperate action took place: the Greeks were anxious to regain the honour of their name; and the Macedonians were ambitious of maintaining the glory of their phalanx uusullied.

The Macedonian officers, to the number of one hundred and twenty, among whom was Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, perished in this engagement. In the mean time, the right wing of the Macedonian army, having repelled the left of the Persians with great slaughter, wheeled about, and attacked the Greeks, whom they finally compelled to give way. A body of Persian horse, however, still maintained the contest against the Thessalian cavalry; nor did the former quit the field until they had received information that Darius had betaken himself to flight.

In every part of the battle the discomfiture of the Persians was now visible. In the route that ensued, their cavalry and infantry suffered greatly: their horsemen being heavy-armed, were encumbered by the narrowness of the roads and their own fear. It is said that the pursuers filled up the ditches with the dead bodies of the slain; and the number of the Persians who fell in this battle is computed to amount to one hundred and ten thousand, among whom were many satraps and nobles.

Darius had discovered little obstinacy in defending

fending the important objects that were at stake. No sooner was the left wing of his army broken by the impetuous attack of the enemy's right, than he fled in his chariot, accompanied by a few favourites. Whilst the country through which he had to pass was plain and open, he escaped without difficulty; but when the road became rough and mountainous, he quitted his chariot, and mounted a horse. His shield, his mantle, and his bow, were left behind, and found by the Macedonians. Alexander, who had been wounded in the thigh, judged it improper to pursue the flying monarch until the Greek mercenaries were first dispersed: the night, therefore, favoured the escape of Darius.

In the camp of the Persians, Asiatic luxury and opulence were alike displayed. Darius had, however, removed his magnificent treasures to the city of Damascus previous to the battle. The conquerors, therefore, only obtained three thousand talents of money; but the wealth which had been deposited in Damascus was afterwards seized by order of Alexander. In the camp, however, were the wife and daughters of Darius, his mother Sysigambis, and his infant son. In the chaste attention of Alexander to Statira, the fairest beauty of the east, his conduct was extremely laudable. These illustrious princesses bore their own misfortunes with patience and equanimity; but when they were informed by a eunuch, that he had seen part of the mantle of Darius in the hand of a Macedonian soldier, they supposed that he had been killed, and burst into dreadful lamentations. Alexander being made acquainted with the cause of their sorrow, sent to assure them that Darius was yet alive.

The next day he visited them in person, and was accompanied by Hephestion, the most affectionate of his friends. In conformity to the eastern custom, Sysigambis approached to prostrate herself before the conqueror. Not, however, knowing which of them was the king, as there appeared no difference in their dress, she turned to Hephestion; but he immediately stepped back, and Sysigambis, sensible of her error, was covered with confusion. Alexander then said to the mother of Darius, "You did not mistake, madam! Hephestion is likewise Alexander."

The prosperity of the Macedonian king continued for a long time to expand his virtues; but never was the conqueror more inimitably great than after the battle of Issus. He remitted a fine which he had formerly imposed on the city of Soli in Cilicia, inhabited by a Grecian colony, upon which Alexander had levied heavy contributions, on account of its unnatural apostacy from Greece. The prisoners belonging to Athens, whom he had taken in the battle of the Granicus, he released; a favour which he would not grant in the dawn of his prosperity. In the city of Damascus were found many Grecian ambassadors, all of whom now or afterwards were set at liberty.

In his precipitate flight across the mountains, the Persian monarch was gradually joined by about four thousand troops, chiefly Greeks. With this feeble escort he hastened from Sochos eastward, and passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus. The inclination of Alexander to seize the person of Darius, could not divert him from the plan of military operations which he had formed in his own mind. He considered, that it would

be

be improper and impolitic to proceed into upper Asia, and to attempt the conquest of Babylon, until he had subdued the maritime provinces. Having, therefore, appointed governors in Cilicia and Cœlo-Syria, he directed his march towards the south, along the coast of Phœnicia: Aradus, Marathus, and Sidon readily opened their gates to the conqueror of Darius. Alexander then signified to the inhabitants of Tyre, that he proposed to sacrifice to Hercules in their city.

When the Tyrians received this alarming intelligence, they discovered not less firmness than prudence. They immediately sent an embassy to Alexander, and assured him that they had formed an unalterable resolution, that neither the Persians nor the Macedonians should ever enter their city. We cannot but wonder at this boldness in a nation whose inhabitants were wholly unaccustomed to war; but the resources of their wealth and commerce seem to have heightened the courage, instead of softening the character of the people. Their city, which, in the language of the east, was styled the eldest daughter of Sidon, had been long acknowledged the mistress of the sea. The *purple* shell-fish, which is found in great abundance on their coast, gave them early possession of that lucrative branch of commerce; and the advantage of clothing the princes and nobles of antiquity was principally confined to the Tyrians. Their city was separated from the sea by a frith half a mile broad; and the walls were a hundred feet high, and extended eighteen miles in circumference. The industry of the inhabitants, together with the convenience of its situation, and the capaci-

 ousness

ousness of its harbours, made it the commercial capital of the world. It abounded with excellent artificers in wood, stone, and iron, was numerously peopled, and had large magazines of military and naval stores.

Notwithstanding the natural and artificial strength of the city, Alexander resolved to besiege it. He therefore, in the first place, ran a mole from the continent to the walls of Tyre, where the sea was about three fathom deep. On the side of the continent, the work was carried on with great alacrity; but when the troops approached the city, the inhabitants galled them with missile weapons from the battlements, and the depth of water incommoded them. The Tyrians also annoyed the workmen from their gallies, which, as they had the command of the sea, they could easily effect. To forward their labours, and at the same time resist these complicated assaults, Alexander gave orders to erect, on the furthest projecture of the mole, two wooden towers, on which he placed engines: these were covered with leather and raw hides, in order to resist the burning darts and fireships of the enemy.

But this contrivance was soon rendered vain and ineffectual. The Tyrians procured a large hulk, which they filled with dry twigs, pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles. Two masts were raised towards the prow, each of which was armed with a double yard; and from the extremities of these were suspended vast caldrons, filled with whatever substance might seem likely to add to the conflagration. As soon as the wind appeared favourable, they towed the hulk into the sea with two gallies; and, having

approached

approached the mole, the sailors set the vessel on fire, and swam to land. The works of the Macedonians were soon in a blaze; and the Tyrians sailing forth in boats, prevented them from extinguishing the fire; by which means the labour of many weeks was reduced to ruin in one day.

Alexander, however, was not to be intimidated by this misfortune: he gave orders that a new mole should be raised, higher and broader than the first, and upon which engines should again be placed. While these operations were carrying on, he received reinforcements of troops from Peloponnesus, which arrived very opportunely to revive the courage of his men, exhausted by fatigue, and dejected by defeat. The maritime provinces also, which he had reduced to his subjection, sent to offer their assistance in an undertaking, which could scarcely have terminated successfully so long as the Tyrians possessed the dominion of the sea. By the united force of lower Asia, Cyprus, and Rhodes, the whole armament of Alexander amounted to two hundred and twenty-four vessels. The Tyrians, who had hitherto confided in their superiority, were now obliged to retire within their harbours for safety.

That people, however, was not discouraged from persevering in their defence: they attacked with showers of ignited weapons the hulk and gallies destined to advance the battering engines against their walls; and besides this, still trusting in their courage, resolved to attack the Cyprian squadron, stationed at the mouth of the harbour which looked towards Sidon. The

boldness

boldness of the design was not less than the bravery which the Tyrians employed in carrying it into execution. That they might conceal their operations from the enemy, they had previously fixed up sails in the mouth of the harbour. They observed that the Greeks and Macedonians were usually employed in private affairs about mid-day, and that Alexander about that time also retired to his pavilion, which was erected near the haven, and looked towards Egypt. Against that hour, therefore, the best-sailing vessels were selected from the whole fleet, and manned with the most expert rowers and the most resolute soldiers, all inured to the sea, and properly armed for battle.

They proceeded for a while slowly and silently; but when they had approached within sight of the Cyprians, they at once clashed their oars, raised a shout, and advanced abreast of each other to the attack. The Tyrians sunk many of the enemy's ships at the first shock; and others were dashed against the shore. On that day, Alexander had remained but a short time in his pavilion. When he was informed of this desperate sally of the besieged, he commanded such vessels as were ready to block up the mouth of the haven; and thus prevented the remainder of the Tyrian fleet from joining their victorious companions. In the mean time, with several gallies, hastily prepared, he sailed round to attack the Tyrians. The inhabitants in the city, perceiving the danger of their comrades, made signals to recal them to the ships; but they had scarcely begun to shape their course back to the city, when the fleet of Alexander assailed, and soon

soon rendered them unserviceable. Few of the vessels escaped; two were sunk at the mouth of the harbour, but the men saved themselves by swimming.

The issue of these naval operations determined the fate of Tyre. Having proved so victorious over the hostile fleet, the Macedonians now fearlessly advanced their engines against the walls of the city. Amidst repeated assaults for two days, the besiegers exhibited great ardour and courage, and the besieged were actuated by their desperate situation. The towers which the Greeks and Macedonians had raised to the height of the walls, enabled them to fight hand to hand with the enemy. By the assistance of spontoons, some of the bravest soldiers passed over to the battlements; but the besieged poured vessels of burning sand on those who attempted to scale the walls with ladders, and which penetrated to the bone. The vigour of attack could only be equalled by the vigour of resistance: the Tyrians contrived to weaken the shock of the battering engines by green hides and coverlets of wool; and when the enemy was so far successful as to effect a breach in the walls, the bravest were always ready to repel them from entering the place.

On the third day, the engines of the besiegers assailed the walls; and the fleet, divided into two squadrons, attacked the opposite harbours at the same time. The battering engines having effected a wide breach in the walls, Alexander gave orders to raise the scaling-ladders, that the soldiers might enter the town over the ruins. Admetus, with the targeteers, was the first that attempted to mount the breach; but this brave

commander

commander soon fell by the attack of the enemy; Alexander and his companions, however, following after, took possession of the wall. The two squadrons of the fleet were also successful: the one entered the harbour of Egypt, whilst the other forced its passage into that of Sidon; but the besieged, though the enemy had possessed themselves of the walls of their city, still rallied, and prepared for defence.

The Tyrians having taken some Grecian vessels from Sidon, inhumanly butchered the crews upon their walls, and then threw the dead bodies into the sea, in sight of the whole Macedonian army. This action, together with the extreme length of time to which the siege had been protracted, provoked the resentment of Alexander, and exasperated the fury of the victors. Eight thousand Tyrians were slain in the town, and thirty thousand were dragged into captivity. The principal magistrates of the city, together with some Carthaginians, who had come to worship the gods of their mother-country, sought refuge in the temple of Tyrian Hercules, where the clemency or piety of Alexander saved them. The Macedonian army lost four hundred men in this obstinate siege of seven months. Thus fell
B.C. Tyre, that had been for many ages the
332. most flourishing city in the world, and had spread the arts of commerce into the remotest regions.

All Phœnicia being now conquered, the submission of the neighbouring province of Judæa immediately followed. The progress of Alexander towards Egypt was interrupted by the strong city of Gaza, situated about five miles from the sea, upon a high hill, and surrounded

with

with strong walls. Batis, a eunuch, was governor of the place for Darius; and, foreseeing what would happen, provided every thing necessary for sustaining a long and obstinate siege. He had also hired Arabian troops to assist the garrison in defending the city. Alexander summoned him to surrender; but Batis answered, that he would defend the place to the utmost. Many persons in the army dissuaded Alexander from undertaking the siege, from an idea that the place was impregnable; the king, however, was unwilling to incur the danger and disgrace of leaving such a strong fortress behind him.

He therefore began the siege in form, and commanded a rampart to be erected. The garrison made a furious sally; and Alexander, who, warned by a heavenly monition, had hitherto kept himself from the reach of the enemy's darts, seeing the danger of his troops, forgat the divine omen, and received a wound in the shoulder. Soon after, the engines that had been used in the siege of Tyre arrived by sea; and the city was at length compelled to submit, but not until every man in the place had perished fighting. Their wives and children became slaves; and Gaza being repeopled from the neighbouring territory, served as a place of arms, to restrain the incursions of the Arabs.

Nothing now remained to impede his expedition into Egypt. Having therefore refreshed his soldiers, he marched into that country. The decisive victory at Issus, the shameful flight of Darius, and the reduction of Tyre and Gaza, opened him a ready passage to the wealthy capital of Memphis. The whole province immediately submitted to him; and he was acknowledged

ledged the sovereign of that nation. Continually occupied with the thoughts not only of extending, but of improving his conquests, he perceived what all the boasted wisdom of Egypt had never before been able to discover. He formed the design of founding a city, which should derive from nature only more permanent advantages, than the favour of the greatest princes can bestow. He, therefore, marked out the plan of his intended capital; and such was the sagacity of his choice, that Alexandria, within the space of twenty years, rose to distinguished eminence among the nations of the east, and continued, through all the subsequent ages of antiquity, the principal bond of union, and the seat of correspondence and commerce, among the civilised parts of the earth.

During his stay in Egypt, the inclination seized Alexander to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon,* which enjoyed a similar authority to what the Delphian oracle had long held in Greece, and was situated amidst the sandy desarts of Lybia. It is probable that had he neglected to obtain the sanction of this venerated shrine, the conquest of the east would with more difficulty have been accomplished. He, therefore, boldly penetrated towards Lybia, despising the danger of traversing an ocean of sand, unmarked by trees, mountains, or any other object that might direct his course, or vary the gloomy scene of uniform sterility. The superstition of the ancients believed that he was conducted on his jour-

* The Oasis of Ammon has hitherto been attempted to be traced with unavailing industry. Mr. Brown in his late travels through the tract in which it lay, either missed it, or could not certainly verify its site.

ney

ney by ravens or serpents; and, without supposing this any proof of a miracle, we may credit the account, because they might be led by instinct to frequent the well-watered and fertile spots of ground, covered with palms and olives.

The fountain formed not the least curiosity, and which was the source of the fertility of the place. At mid-day it was exceedingly cool, and warm at night. In the intervening time regularly every day, it underwent the intermediate degrees of temperature. The adjacent territory produced a fossile salt, which was frequently dug out in large oblong pieces, clear as crystal: these pieces were enclosed by the priests of Ammon in boxes of palm-trees and given as presents to kings and other illustrious personages.

Alexander having examined the place, consulted the oracle relative to the success of his expedition, and received a favourable answer from the deity. His purposes being thus effected, he returned to Memphis, to settle the affairs of Egypt. The inhabitants were permitted to enjoy their ancient religion and laws. He appointed two governors of that kingdom; but the principal garrisons were given to the command of his confidential friends.

In the mean time, Darius had raised an army in Assyria, far beyond any proportion of force which he had hitherto collected. Alexander receiving intelligence of the preparations for attacking his army a third time, and considerable reinforcements from Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, having joined his forces, pursued his journey eastward. He passed the Euphrates and the Tigris, and boldly marched into Assyria. Darius had pitched his tents on the level

 banks

banks of the Bumadus, near the obscure village of Gaugamela; but the famous battle between these two kings, which finally decided the empire of the east, took its name from Arbela, a town in the same province.

After passing the Tigris, intelligence soon arrived that some of the enemy's horse had been seen, but the number could not be ascertained. Alexander having received this information, marched his troops forward in order of battle. He had not, however, proceeded far in this manner, before he was informed that the hostile cavalry scarcely exceeded a thousand. The heavy-armed troops were then commanded to slacken their pace, while he advanced at the head of the royal cohort and light-armed; and such was the celerity of his movement, that several of the barbarians were made prisoners. From them he understood that the camp of Darius was within a few hours march. The strength of the enemy, they said, amounted to a million of foot, forty thousand horse, two hundred armed chariots, and fifteen elephants, from the eastern banks of the Indus. Others, however, with greater probability, computed the army of Darius to consist of six hundred thousand infantry, and one hundred and forty-five thousand cavalry; but it was unanimously agreed, that the present forces greatly exceeded in number those which had fought at Issus.

This necessary information being received, Alexander rested his men four days. He then left the sick and infirm, together with all the baggage, in the camp, which was fortified, and marched with the effective part of his army, consisting of forty thousand infantry, and seven thousand

thousand horse. The Macedonian hero first beheld from some eminences the hostile troops more skilfully marshalled than he had reason to expect. Their appearance determined him to alter his former resolution. The infantry, therefore, was commanded to remains tationary, until a detachment of horse had carefully explored the field of battle, and examined the disposition of the enemy. These important duties were performed by Alexander in person, whose conduct was equalled by his courage, and surpassed by his activity. Having returned to the troops with great celerity, he assembled the officers of his army, and encouraged them by a short speech. All the troops testified their ardour for an engagement and confidence of victory. He then gave orders that the soldiers should take some rest and refreshment.

It is said, that Parmenio advised Alexander to attack the enemy during the night, alledging, that they might easily be defeated, if fallen upon by surprize, and in the dark; but the king made answer, so loud that all might hear him, that it did not become Alexander to steal a victory, and, therefore, he was resolved to fight and conquer during the day.

In the mean while, Darius understanding that the enemy approached, kept his men ready for action. The plain on which his army was encamped, extended to a great length, but he was, nevertheless, under the necessity of contracting his front, and of forming into two lines. The Persian monarch, with the princes of the blood, and the great officers of the court, according to custom, occupied the centre of the first line. These were defended by fifteen thousand chosen

 men;

men; but the Greek mercenaries flanked those guards on the right and left. The Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Sacæ, formed the right wing; and the Bactrians, Persians, and Cardusians, occupied the left. The infantry and cavalry were promiscuously blended together, not designedly, but accidentally. The armed chariots fronted the first line; and in the centre were the elephants. Several squadrons of cavalry advanced before both wings, prepared to act according as an opportunity offered.

Darius, fearing that the enemy would attack his army in the night, commanded his men to remain under arms. This unusual measure, the gloomy silence, the long and anxious expectation, together with the fatigue of a restless night, greatly discouraged the troops, and recalled to their minds the miserable disasters they had witnessed on the banks of the Granicus and the Issus.

Alexander knowing the form and order of the enemy, disposed his troops in such a manner as prudence and experience best suggested. Two heavy-armed phalanxes, each consisting of sixteen thousand men, composed the main body of the army. Behind these he placed the heavy-armed soldiers, reinforced by his targeteers. These had orders, that when the enemy should prepare to attack the flanks and rear of his first line, the second should move to their assistance. He disposed the cavalry and light infantry on the wings; and skilful archers and darters were posted at proper intervals, principally for the purpose of aiming at the horses, or conductors of the chariots.

He then led his troops towards the enemy in an oblique direction, by which means he avoided contending

contending at once with superior numbers. Darius fearing lest, by the movement of the enemy, his men should be drawn gradually off the plain, gave orders to the Scythian squadrons to advance, and prevent the further extension of the hostile line. A body of horse was immediately sent from the Macedonian army to oppose them, and thus an equestrian engagement ensued. Both parties received reinforcements, and the barbarians were finally compelled to retire. The chariots then bore down upon the Macedonians; their appearance was terrifying, and threatened instant destruction; but many of the conductors of them, and more of the horses, were killed before they reached the Macedonian troops; to those that did, the army opened as they had been directed, and permitted them to pass through, when they were either taken or slain by the body of reserve.

Darius then moved his main body, but with so little order that the infantry mixed with the horse, advanced, and left a vacuity in the line, which his generals wanted abilities to fill up. This error being perceived by Alexander, he seized the decisive moment, and penetrated into the void with a wedge of squadrons. The nearest sections of the phalanx immediately followed, greatly animated by the prospect of victory. The event of the battle, in this part of the field, was not long doubtful; the barbarians, after a feeble opposition, retired; and the pusillanimous Darius again fled with precipitation from the engagement.

But though the left wing of the Persian army was thus completely routed, their right had almost surrounded the hostile battalions opposed

against them. The Persian and Indian cavalry had penetrated into the Macedonian line, and advanced to the enemy's camp; this being perceived by the heavy-armed troops and targeteers, posted behind the phalanx, they speedily faced about, and attacking the barbarian horse, put them to flight. Alexander, in the mean time, receiving intelligence that his left wing was in danger, left off pursuing Darius; and whilst he advanced against the enemy's right, he met the Parthian, Indian, and Persian horse; a sharp contest ensued, and thirty of the *companions* were slain; Hephæstion, Cænus, and Mænidas were wounded. This body of cavalry being routed, Alexander prepared to attack the infantry, but they had been already repelled by the Thessalian horse; and thus nothing was left but to pursue the fugitives. This was a victory that
B. C. 331. decided the fate of Asia, and secured to Alexander the dominion of the east, obtained with the loss of only five hundred men; whilst at least forty thousand of the Persians or their allies perished in the contest!

CHAP. XIX.

Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Battle of Arbela, to the Death of Alexander the Great.

DARIUS, after the defeat of his numerous host, escaped by a precipitate and obscure flight across the Armenian mountains into Media. He was gradually joined in his rout by the scattered remains of his army, amounting to

to several thousands of barbarians, and fifteen hundred Greeks. The unfortunate prince intended, if Alexander should take up his abode at Suza or Babylon, to establish his court in Media. But if the Macedonian king pursued him thither also, he resolved to proceed eastward through Parthia and Hyrcania, into the valuable province of Bactria; and that he might oppose a formidable barrier to the Macedonian army, he designed to lay waste the intermediate territory.

No sooner was Alexander informed of the direction that Darius had taken, than he pursued him into Media; but before he reached Ecbatana, the capital of that kingdom, he received intelligence that the royal fugitive had fled from thence five days previously to his arrival. At Ecbatana, Alexander separated his army into three divisions; a strong detachment under Parmenio was sent into Hyrcania; Cænus received orders to march with all convenient speed into Parthia; and the king himself, with the principal part of the army, advanced as expeditiously as possible to overtake Darius. The king was, however, soon informed, that Bassus and two other associates, who were officers of that unfortunate prince, had laid aside all respect for him, and made him their captive. When this news was received by Alexander, he declared that there was still greater occasion for expedition. Having therefore left the heavy-armed soldiers behind, he hastened forward with a select band, provided with nothing but their arms and two days provisions. He had not proceeded much farther, when he obtained information, that Bassus had assumed the honours of royalty; that

that most of the barbarians had acknowledged the usurper; and that the Greeks, who alone were inviolate in their attachment to Darius, were unable to afford that unfortunate king any kind of assistance. He also understood, that Bassus and his associates had determined to deliver up Darius to him, if he should still follow them, but that should he cease from the pursuit, they intended to raise forces, and divide the eastern provinces of the empire.

No sooner had Alexander received this intelligence than he dismounted five hundred of his cavalry, and placed the bravest of his foot completely armed on horseback, and proceeded by a nearer road with the other forces that were with him. Bessus and his associates, however, perceiving that the troops of Alexander pressed hard upon them, stabbed Darius, in order to facilitate their own escape; and notwithstanding the celerity with which he hastened to the relief of the unfortunate king, he expired before the conqueror beheld him; but he ordered his body to be transported to the capital of his kingdom, and interred in the royal mausoleum. His children were treated with that respect which belonged to their birth; and Alexander finally espoused Barcine, the eldest daughter of Darius. The Greek mercenaries were pardoned, and distributed into the Macedonian army; and Bassus, being soon after taken by the troops of Alexander, was treated with a barbarity that his crimes merited, but which it did not become the conqueror of the east to inflict.

In pursuit of Spitamenes, who succeeded to the ambition and danger of Bassus, Alexander was carried through the vast but undescribed provinces

provinces of Asia, Bactria, Sogdiana, and other less considerable divisions of the southern region of Tartary. On several occasions the Scythians attacked his advanced parties, and interrupted his convoys. The abruptness of their assault was only equalled by their skilful retreat. In numbers, courage, and stratagem, they were inferior to none: but the discipline and intrepidity of the Greeks and Macedonians finally prevailed over barbarian craft and desultory fury. Alexander passed the Iaxartes, and attacking the Scythians in a general engagement on the northern bank of that river, completely defeated them.

The barbarians fighting singly were successively subdued, and the prisoners whom Alexander took being distributed into his army, reinforced his troops. He then divided his forces into five formidable brigades, commanded by his generals and himself. Conus, one of the commanders, attacked and defeated Spitamenes, who was soon afterwards slain by the Scythians, and his head sent to Alexander. After the death of Spitamenes, the enemy feebly opposed him in the plain; but two strong fortresses in the provinces of Sagdiana and Parætacone, still continued to hold out. In the former, Oxyartes, the Bactrian, had placed his wife and children. The rock was high, steep, and rugged, almost inaccessible, and prepared for a long siege. It was also surrounded with snow, which, as it increased the difficulty of attacking the fortress, supplied the garrison with water. When Alexander summoned the besieged to surrender, he was asked by way of answer, "whether his soldiers were winged?" This insolence piqued the pride

pride of the conqueror, and he determined to make himself master of the place, whatever might be the difficulties, and whatever might be the dangers attending the enterprize.

He, therefore, carefully examined the Sagdian fortresses, and proposed a reward of twelve talents to the man who should first mount the top of the rock :* he promised also proportionally to the second and third, and the last of ten was to be rewarded with the sum of three hundred darics. The Macedonians and Greeks considered this recompence as equally honourable and lucrative, and many were thereby stimulated to undertake the enterprize. Three hundred men, carefully selected from the whole army, were furnished with ropes made of the strongest flax, and with iron pins ; and they had also given to them several pieces of cloth, which they were to employ as signals.

The evening was considered as the most likely time for undertaking the project, and the most abrupt part of the rock would very probably be least guarded. Thus equipped, therefore, they proceeded, and driving the iron pins into the congealed snow, and fastening to them the ropes, drew themselves up by degrees to the top of the precipice. Thirty men perished, whose bodies were so profoundly buried in the snow, that they could not be found; but the rest gained the summit of the mountain, which overlooked the fortress. When Alexander perceived them in the morning waving their signals, he sent to demand the inhabitants to surrender to his wing-

* About 2000*l*. but what would be equivalent to 20,000*l*. in the present day.

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ed soldiers. The barbarians beholding what was done, became greatly afraid, and Alexander was invited to take possession of the fortress.

In this castle was Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, who was considered as one of the greatest beauties of the east. Alexander admired her form and accomplishments, but even in the fervour of youth and the intoxication of prosperity, disdained the cruel rights of a conqueror, and opposed the maxims and example of his age and country. He would not transgress the laws of humanity or chastity; but afterwards raised Roxana to the throne.

Whilst the king was in Bactria, he understood that the Parætacians were in arms. As soon as he received this intelligence he marched his army into that country, and laid siege to the fortress of Chorienes, where his most dangerous enemies had shut themselves up. This place was soon compelled to surrender to the valour and intrepidity of the Macedonians.

By such memorable achievements Alexander subdued the nations between the Caspian sea, the river Iaxartes, and the lofty chain of mountains which supply the sources of the Indus and Ganges. The great abilities of this enterprising general were sufficiently distinguished in the conduct of this remote and dangerous war. Ever anxious to inspire his troops with a portion of that spirit which animated himself, he was continually encouraging them to the performance of daring and hazardous undertakings. By his example they were taught to despise hunger, fatigue, cold, and danger. Neither steep and rugged mountains, nor deep and rapid rivers,

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nor wounds, nor sickness, could interrupt his progress, or abate his activity. The courage he possessed stimulated him to attemptgreat achievments, which in an unsuccessful commander would have been considered as acts of temerity: yet amidst the hardships of a military life, obstinate sieges, bloody battles, and victories purchased at the expence of many lives, he generally respected the rights of mankind, and practised the mild virtues of humanity.

The nations which he subdued were permitted to enjoy their ancient laws and privileges: the rigours of despotism were softened, and the most austere of the Macedonian governors were instructed by the example, and compelled by the authority of their sovereign to observe the laws of justice towards the meanest of their subjects. He founded cities, and established colonies on the banks of the Iaxartes and the Oxus, that he might restrain the fierce inhabitants of Scythia. The destructive campaigns, therefore, which he employed in contending with the Bactrians, Scythians, and other barbarous nations, and which are ascribed to his restless activity and blind ambition, appeared to this extraordinary man, not only as essential for securing his present, but for obtaining some future conquests

During the three first years that Alexander invaded the Persian dominions, Antipater kept Greece in tranquillity; but being obliged to undertake an expedition into Thrace, the Lacedæmonians, who had long felt and expressed a wish to attack Macedonia, seized that favourable opportunity. They procured reinforcements from other Grecian communities, and the allied ar-

army

B. C. 330. my, when assembled, amounted to twenty-two thousand men; but Antipater, having quelled the insurrection in Thrace, marched with his army into Peloponnesus, and engaging the confederates defeated them, and slew three thousand of them, in the number of whom was Agis, king of Sparta. From that period to the death of Alexander, Greece enjoyed an unusual degree of tranquillity. Under that monarch the exploits of the Greeks, though directed to other purposes, surpassed all the victories they had formerly obtained. By a singularity peculiar to their fortune, the æra of their political disgrace coincides with the most splendid period of their military glory. Alexander was himself a Greek; his kingdom had been founded by a Grecian colony; and to revenge the injuries of the nation, he undertook and accomplished the most extraordinary enterprizes recorded in the history of the world.

Whilst Alexander was in pursuit of the murderers of Darius, Athens was crowded with spectators from every part of Greece, who,

B. C. 330. excited by curiosity, came to behold an intellectual conflict between Æschines and Demosthenes. Ctesiphon had on a former occasion proposed that Demosthenes, in consideration of his services, should be rewarded with a golden crown. This decree was strongly opposed by Æschines, his rival in eloquence and in ambition. He had before the death of Philip denounced the author of this decree, as a violator of the laws of his country. Different circumstances, however, concurred to prevent this important cause from being heard by the Athenians, until the sixth year of the reign of Alexander

ander. The triumph of the Macedonians seemed to promise every advantage to Æschines, who had long been known as the creature of Philip and of his son: and though the accusation was proposed against Ctesiphon, it was principally intended to comprehend Demosthenes, the open and avowed enemy of the tyranny of Macedonia, and of the corruption and perfidious conduct of Æschines.

Demosthenes, however, not only justified Ctesiphon and himself, but obtained by the sublimity and inimitable excellence of his oration, the banishment of his adversary, as the author of a malignant, false, and calumnious accusation. This triumph was honourable to the great Athenian orator, but the generous treatment of his vanquished rival was still more glorious. Before Æschines set sail Demosthenes carried to him a purse of money, which he generously compelled him to accept. This unexpected and unmerited kindness made Æschines feel more severely the weight of his punishment, and he exclaimed, "How deeply must I lament the loss of a country in which enemies are more generous than friends will be elsewhere."

The banished orator retired to Rhodes, and instituted a school of eloquence, which flourished several centuries in that island. It is said, that having upon some occasion read to his scholars the oration which occasioned his banishment, it was received with great applause; but when he rehearsed to them the speech of Demosthenes in answer, their applause was redoubled: upon which he exclaimed to the audience, "What would have been your admiration had you heard the orator himself?"

But

But to return from this digression: Alexander having awed into submission the barbarous and uncivilized nations inhabiting the Scythian
B. C. 327. plains and their neighbourhood, prepared early in the spring to undertake a remote and dangerous enterprize against India. He appointed Amyntas governor of Bactria, and left him a force sufficient to keep in awe the surrounding provinces. He then marched towards the south with the greatest part of his army, and traversed the Paropamisus, a link of that immense chain of mountains which reaches from the coast of Cilicia to the sea of China. This southern belt, distinguished in different portions of its length, the Greeks confounded with the northern chain, of which Scythian Caucasus forms a part, and whose remote branches extend from the shores of the Euxine to the eastern extremity of Tartary. Such is the strong frame that supports the mass of Asia. The intermediate space is far more elevated than any other portion of the eastern continent; and hitherto the towering heights of Paropamisus had defended (if we except the obscure expedition of Darius) the feeble majesty of India against the inroads of invaders.

The rugged nature of the country was a difficulty, but not the only difficulty, with which the Macedonians had to contend in their journey into the territories of India. The northern regions of that continent were inhabited by men of superior strength and superior courage. The natives made a very strong resistance against the army of Alexander: but having at length reached the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces, retaining the greater part of the troops

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under his own command; and detaching the remainder under Hephestion and Perdiccas, to clear the road to the Indus, and to make all necessary preparations for passing that river. Those generals executed the commission entrusted to them with ease and success.

In the mean time Alexander bent his march towards the Choe or Choaspes, on the banks of which he met with a warlike and barbarous people, whose cities he prepared to reduce. The Macedonians having engaged and defeated them in a general battle, Alexander accomplished his purpose. He then marched with the horse and light armed troops to the river Euaspla, on the banks of which the chief strength of the Aspians, the principal nation in those parts, was assembled. Having separated his forces into three divisions, the army advanced against the enemy, who, confiding in their numbers, rushed into the plain, but fighting without order, the Aspians were constrained to retire with the loss of forty thousand men.

He then projected an expedition for reducing the Assacenians, who were said to have an army of twenty thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, and thirty elephants, ready to oppose him. When, however, he approached the territories of this people, they retired within the walls of their city; but seeing that the forces of Alexander were not so numerous nor formidable as they at first expected, they engaged the Macedonian army in the plain. They fought with incredible bravery, but could not sustain the shock of the Macedonian phalanx, and were exposed to great slaughter in their retreat to the city.

Near the western margin of the Indus the Bazirians,

zirians, associating themselves with other lovers of liberty, withdrew to a certain rock, which, if not impregnable by its situation, their courage and experience they expected would render it a secure retreat. This fortress was called by the Greeks mount Aornos. It extended two hundred furlongs in circumference, eleven in height where lowest, and was accessible by only one dangerous path cut in the rock by art. On the top was a plentiful fountain of water, a fine plain, part of which was covered with a thick wood, and the rest arable land, fit for employing the labour of a thousand men. While Alexander was preparing all things necessary for undertaking the siege of the place, an old man with his sons, who had long inhabited the summit of the rock, came to offer him their assistance, and to shew him a private way of ascending it. Ptolemy, therefore, had orders to proceed with a considerable body of troops, and to make an entrenchment in the wood, whither the old man was to direct him. Ptolemy having safely reached the place, made signals to Alexander that he had succeeded.

Both generals attacked the fortress at once, but were driven back by the enemy. Alexander therefore gave orders to cut down the trees in the neighbourhood, with which to fill up the cavities between the plain and the advanced post of Ptolemy. The Indians seeing the enemy likely to succeed in their plan, sent deputies to propose the surrender of the place. Alexander having heard their proposals, suspected that they intended an escape, and no sooner therefore had they descended the mountain, than he took possession of the deserted rock; and having pre-

viously posted a proper detachment to intercept the fugitives, put them to the sword.

The Macedonians proceeded southward from Aornos, into the country between the Cophenes and the Indus. As they advanced in this district, a deputation of citizens from Nysa met them. This place is said, on no just authority we presume, to have been founded by a Grecian colony.

When they were conducted to Alexander, who had just sat down in his tent, covered with sweat and dust, and armed with his casque and lance, they exhibited marks of astonishment and horror, and fell prostrate before him. The king understanding that their government was aristocratical, demanded a hundred of their principal citizens as hostages, and three hundred of their cavalry to reinforce his army. Acuphis, who headed the embassy, replied, "You are welcome, O king! to three hundred horsemen, and more if necessary; but when a state has lost one hundred of its most virtuous citizens, it cannot long continue in safety." Alexander, therefore, remitted his demand of the magistrates, and accepted the cavalry, which accompanied him in his expedition.

On the eastern bank of the Indus, Alexander received the submission of the neighbouring princes. Of these, Taxiles, who was the most considerable, presented to the king thirty elephants, and reinforced his army with seven hundred Indian horse, and five thousand foot. The reason of his conduct is said to have been the enmity that subsisted between Porus, a prince whose territories were situated on the other side of the Hydaspes, and himself.

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It was about the summer solstice when Alexander reached the Hydaspes, and consequently the waters of the river were swollen, at that season, by the melted snow which descends in torrents from Paropamisus, as well as by the periodical rains. Trusting to this circumstance, Porus, a powerful and warlike prince, had encamped on the opposite bank of the Hydaspes with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. Alexander found it impossible to practise upon this prince as he had done upon others, and to pass the river in view of so numerous an army. He therefore collected provisions, and pretended that he intended to remain in his present position until the water in the river should decrease; but Porus was not to be duped by this artifice.

The king, therefore, alarmed the enemy for many nights successively, until he perceived that Porus considered it as only a feint to harass his troops, and no longer drew out his forces as usual. This false security of the Indian king enabled Alexander to accomplish his purpose. About eighteen miles from the camp was a lofty rock covered with trees; and near the rock, an island overrun with wood and uninhabited. Alexander having left the Macedonian phalanx, the new levies and auxiliaries, with a division of cavalry under the command of Craterus, marched to the rock with the rest of the troops, under cover of the night. These judicious dispositions were favoured by a violent tempest of rain, thunder, and lightning. When the storm somewhat abated, the horse and infantry, in such proportions as both the boats and hides which they had prepared

prepared could convey, passed over unperceived into the island. Alexander led the line, accompanied in his vessel of thirty oars by Seleucus, Ptolemy, Perdiccas, and Lysimachus; names destined to fill the ancient world, when their renown was no longer repressed by the irresistible diffusion of their master's glory.

The king was the first that reached the opposite bank, in sight of the enemy's out-guards, who hastened to inform Porus that Alexander with his troops were passing the river. The Indian king immediately dispatched his son with two thousand horse and one hundred and twenty armed chariots, to oppose the landing of the Macedonians. These troops, however, came too late to defend the bank, and being attacked by the forces of Alexander, were speedily broken and put to flight. Their leader and four hundred horsemen were slain, and most of the chariots taken.

The discomfiture of these troops deeply afflicted Porus; but his immediate danger would not admit of much reflection. Craterus prepared to pass the river and attack him in front, while his flanks were threatened with the shock of the Macedonian horse, elated with victory. Porus, in this emergency, acted with equal prudence and firmness: he left part of the elephants to oppose Craterus in passing the river, and at the head of his whole army marched in person against the enemy, commanded by their king. His horse amounted to four, and his foot to thirty thousand; but the part of his strength in which he seemed most to confide, consisted of three hundred armed chariots and two hundred elephants. Having advanced to a plain, which

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he considered as suitable for his purpose, he there waited the approach of the enemy. He then placed the elephants a hundred feet from each other; and in the intervals a little behind the line he posted his infantry. By this arrangement, he expected the horse of the Macedonian army would be deterred from advancing at sight of the elephants; nor did he suppose their infantry would attack his army in front, while they would be exposed to an assault in flank, and in danger of being trampled under the feet of those terrible animals. At both extremities of the line, the elephants carried wooden towers, filled with armed men; while the cavalry were posted on the wings, and covered in front with the armed chariots.

In the mean time, Alexander, with the royal cohort and equestrian archers, made his appearance. He did not proceed to attack the enemy immediately; but seeing that Porus had prepared his forces in order of battle, he thought it advisable to order a halt. The heavy-armed troops, therefore, quickly arrived, and encircling his men with the cavalry, he allowed them time to rest and take some refreshment. Alexander, as usual, diligently examined the disposition of the enemy. Having observed the form in which they were arranged, he thought it would be more prudent to avoid attacking them in front, that he might not encounter the difficulties which Porus had artfully thrown in his way. He therefore, by intricate and skilful manœuvres, which the Indian chief did not understand, moved imperceptibly towards the left wing of the enemy with the flower of his cavalry; the remainder, under the command of Cænus, having

ing orders to stretch towards the right, and to attack the Indians in the rear, should they wait to receive the shock of Alexander's squadrons. At the same time, a thousand equestrian archers directed their course to the same wing; and the infantry remained stationary, that they might wait the event of this complicated assault, which was conducted with no less prudence than precision.

The equestrian archers harassed the Indian horse, and the cavalry of Alexander having separated into two divisions, threatened to surround them. In order, therefore, to resist the enemy with any prospect of success, Porus was under the necessity of dividing his army also, that he might oppose Alexander and Cænus at the same time. This evolution greatly disordered and dejected his forces, and made them unable to withstand the shock of the Macedonian cavalry, which surpassed them equally in strength and discipline. They therefore retired for refuge behind a line of friendly towers, in the intervals that had been left between the elephants. Porus then commanded that those fierce animals should move towards the enemy's cavalry. Immediately the infantry of the Macedonian army advanced to the attack, and galled the elephants and riders with darts and other missile weapons; and the Macedonians opened their ranks to allow the animals to pass, as they found it dangerous to resist them with a close and deep phalanx.

In the mean time, the Indian cavalry rallied and returned to the charge, but were repulsed with still greater loss than before. They again sought the same friendly retreat, but their return

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was cut off by the Macedonian cavalry, which almost surrounded them. The elephants also, enraged at being confined in a narrow space, and furious on account of the wounds they had received, became not less dangerous and formidable to the Indians than to the Macedonians.

Porus behaved with the greatest intrepidity and the most excellent conduct. He gave his orders and directed every thing as long as his forces could resist the enemy; even after they were broken, he rallied them in different parties, and continued the fight until every corps of Indians was put to the route. In the mean time, Craterus had passed the river with the remainder of the Macedonian army; and these engaging the flying enemy, encreased the slaughter of the day. Twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse were killed, all the chariots hacked to pieces, and many elephants taken; and besides all this, the unfortunate Porus lost both his sons, and most of his captains. On the other hand, we are told that Alexander lost only three hundred men in this engagement.

Porus was the last to leave the field: his flight being retarded by his wounds, he was overtaken by Taxiles, whom Alexander had sent to persuade him to surrender, and to assure him that he should be treated with the utmost kindness and respect. Porus however, disdaining the advice of an ancient and, as he believed, inveterate enemy, turned his elephant, and prepared to renew the combat. Alexander then dispatched to him Meroe, an Indian of distinction, who, he understood, had formerly lived with Porus in habits of intimacy and friendship. By his entreaties the high-minded prince, spent with thirst

and fatigue, surrendered; and having refreshed himself with drink and repose, desired his friend to conduct him to Alexander. As soon as the conqueror knew that Porus was coming, he went with several of his friends to meet him.

The Indian king was seven feet high, exactly proportioned, of a noble aspect, and majestic deportment. Alexander, therefore, admiring his martial appearance and magnanimity, desired Meroe to ask wherein he could oblige him? Porus replied, by treating me as a king: which being reported to Alexander, he said with a smile, "That I should do for my own sake; but what can I do for yours?" Porus answered, "All my wishes are contained in that one request." This firmness of conduct exactly suited the disposition of Alexander, and he declared Porus reinstated on his throne; acknowledged him as his friend and ally; and, having soon afterwards received the submission of the Glausians, who possessed thirty-seven cities on his eastern frontier, each of which contained near eight thousand inhabitants, he added this populous district to the dominions of his new confederate.

Alexander, to perpetuate the memory of his victory, ordered two cities to be built, one on the field of battle, which he called Nicæa; the other where his troops had been encamped, which he named Bucephala, in honour of his horse which died there. All the slain were buried with military honours; solemn sacrifices offered to the gods; and gymnastic and equestrian games performed on the banks of the Hydaspes.

Without encountering any memorable resistance, he reduced the dominions of another prince named

named Porus, and the valuable country between the Acesines and the Hydraotes. Natural obstacles were the principal, if not the only enemies, with which he had now to contend. The Acesines is a deep and rapid river, fifteen furlongs broad, and has great rocks in the channel. These rocks opposing the rapidity of the stream, occasion loud and foaming billows, mixed with boiling eddies and whirlpools, equally formidable and dangerous. Of the Macedonians who attempted the passage in boats, many were driven against the rocks and perished; others, however, who employed hides were more fortunate, and reached the opposite shore in safety. The breadth of the Hydraotes is equal to that of the Acesines, but the current flows more gently. Alexander was informed that the Catheans, Mallians, and other independent nations, had confederated, and were prepared to oppose his progress. As soon as the king received this intelligence, he marched to give them battle. In a few days he reached the city of Sangula, situated on the top of a hill, with a fine lake behind it. Before this city the confederate Indians were encamped, and, instead of a breast work, had fortified themselves with a triple row of carriages, in the midst of which were their tents.

Alexander advanced with his cavalry; but finding them unfit for making an assault, immediately dismounted and conducted a battalion of foot against the enemy. The Indians defended themselves with great bravery; but, at length, the first line of their carriages was broken, and the Macedonians entered. The second was much stronger; Alexander, however, attacked it, and after a desperate resistance, forced that also. The

The Indians immediately retired into the city which Alexander would have invested; but the infantry he had with him not being sufficient for the purpose, he caused his works to be carried on both sides as far as the lake. The second night he received intelligence that the enemy designed to make their escape through the lake, which was fordable. He therefore caused the cavalry to surround the city; which precaution was attended with success: the foremost of the Indians who forded the lake were killed by the Macedonian horse; and the rest were compelled to retire into the town.

In the mean time Porus, Alexander's principal ally in those parts, arrived in the camp with five thousand Indians, and a considerable number of elephants. Animated by this reinforcement, the Macedonians prepared to terminate the siege. They therefore prepared the engines: the brick wall was undermined; the scaling ladders were fixed; several breaches made; and the town was stormed. Seventeen thousand Indians perished in the sack of Sangola; seventy thousand were made prisoners; and three hundred chariots, with five hundred horse, were taken. The city was rased to the ground; and the confederates fled, or submitted to the conqueror. Alexander lost a hundred men in the siege and assault; and twelve hundred were wounded.

The destructive ambition of the king still led him to think of new conquests; and he now prepared to pass the river Hyphasis, the most eastern of the five great streams, whose confluence forms the Indus. The troops, however, refused to march farther eastward, and protested they would no longer hazard their lives to gratify his

ambitious

ambitious and oppressive designs. He was therefore obliged, by the immoveable and unanimous resolution of his European troops, to set bounds to his trophies; before, however, he returned, he commanded twelve Macedonian altars, equal in height, and exceeding in bulk, the greatest towers in that country, to be erected on the western bank of the Hyphasis, and which marked the extremity of his conquests.

But his restless curiosity and insatiable ambition prepared new toils and dangers for himself and his troops, and fresh oppressions for the neighbouring nations. Having returned to the cities Nicæa and Bucephala, he divided his forces that he might explore more carefully the unknown regions of India. Craterus and Hephestion took the command of two divisions, and marched southward along the opposite banks of the Hydaspes. Philip also, who had been entrusted with the government of Bactria, was recalled with the troops under his command; and the whole Macedonian conquests in India, including seven nations and above two thousand cities, were made subject to Porus. He now began to make preparations for passing down the Indus to the ocean; and the Phœnicians, Cyprians, Carians, with the inhabitants of other maritime provinces, having got ready a fleet, the king, with the third division of the army, embarked and set sail.

B. C. 326.

On the third day of the voyage he received information, that the Oxydracians and Mallians were raising forces to oppose him. He therefore landed, and marched his forces through a desert country against the latter people. The barbarians were driven from the plain; their

cities were successively besieged and taken; but at the storm of their capital a scene was transacted which indicated the temerity and folly of this celebrated general. The enemy having obtained possession of the streets of the city, the Mallians were compelled to betake themselves to the citadel. This fortress was defended by a thick wall, which was extremely lofty without, but towards the inner circumference of an inconsiderable height. The king immediately gave orders to scale the walls, and the soldiers began to execute his commands; but Alexander, impatient of delay, seized a ladder, and placing it against the battlement, mounted himself.

The Macedonians, alarmed by the danger of their king, followed in such numbers, that the ladder broke as Alexander reached the summit. Several other ladders were also broken. The king by these accidents was left for some moments to contend singly with the enemy. He killed several with his sword, and pushed others over the walls; but the Indians from the adjacent tower galled him with their arrows. Perceiving that only three Macedonians had followed him, he threw himself therefore into the citadel; and Peucestas, Leonatus, and Abreas followed his example. Immediately they were attacked by the enemy: the king was shot in the breast with an arrow, and at length fell senseless upon his shield.

The Macedonians had now burst through the gates of the place, and their first care was to carry off the king. They then prepared to revenge his death, for they had every reason to believe that the wound he had received was mortal. The weapon is said to have been extracted by Perdiccas,

Perdiccas, one of Alexander's life guards, who, by the command of his master, opened the wound with his sword. The king's immediate dissolution was threatened by the great effusion of blood that followed. A swooning, however, retarded the circulation of the fluids, stopped the discharge of blood, and saved his life. As soon as his health would permit, the king shewed himself to his soldiers, who testified immoderate joy at his recovery. Some of the principal officers of the army however, ventured to remonstrate with him on the imprudence of his conduct; but Alexander could no longer endure truth.

Having arrived at the ocean, Alexander proceeded towards Persepolis, through the barren solitudes of Gedrosea. The soldiers were so pressed with hunger during the journey, that they were obliged to kill and eat the horses and mules in their carriages. Frequently they met with no water during a whole day, nor perhaps at night. Numbers through these difficulties perished; nor was it until after a march of two months, distinguished by unexampled hardships, that the army emerged into the cultivated provinces of Camerania.

Harpalus, Orsines, and Abulites, the respective governors of Babylon, Persepolis, and Suza, began to despise the orders of Alexander during his absence, and to assume independent sovereignties. The king was not ignorant how to act in an emergency of this nature: he therefore marched immediately towards Pasargadæ, with a body of horse and light-armed troops. Orsines was accused by the people of many grievous crimes, and the proofs being exhibited against him, he was put to death; and Baryaxes, a Mede,

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who had assumed the royal tiara, being brought a prisoner by Atrogates, was, together with his accomplices in the revolt, commanded to be slain. The king then proceeded to Suza, where Abulites and his son Oxathres, being charged with enormous crimes, suffered the most cruel punishments.

Harpalus, whose conduct at Babylon had been no less flagitious, escaped with his treasures to Athens. The Athenians were willing to receive him on account of his riches, but afraid to harbour the enemy of Alexander; by a decree of the people he was therefore expelled Attica, and soon afterwards slain. Peucestas, who saved the king's life when he fought against a whole garrison, was made governor of Persia. This dignity was no sooner conferred upon him, than he laid aside the Macedonian garb, and put on the Median habit. He was the only individual among the officers of Alexander, who, by conforming himself to the manners of the vanquished, acquired the affectionate esteem of the people committed to his care.

In the central provinces of his empire, Alexander spent the last year of his life. He repaired the harbours; constructed arsenals; and formed a bason at Babylon sufficient to contain a thousand gallies. The navigation of the great rivers of his empire was also enlarged. By these means he hoped to facilitate internal intercourse among his central provinces, while, by opening new channels of communication, he expected to unite the wealthy countries of Egypt and the east, with the most remote regions of the earth. He dispatched ships to explore the Persian and Arabian gulphs; and such was the favourable account

count brought him by Archias relative to the former, that he adopted the resolution of planting its shores with Grecian colonies.

Objects, however, less remote, demanded his more immediate attention. In winter the waters of the Euphrates are confined within their lofty channel; but at other seasons of the year they would overflow the adjoining territory, unless the superfluous fluid should be discharged into the Pallacopas. This canal gradually sunk into its soft and oozy bed; and the Euphrates became so much diminished as to be insufficient for watering the fields of Assyria; an inconvenience greatly felt in a country almost deprived of rain. Alexander therefore carefully examined the nature of the soil; and having discovered, at the distance of about four miles from the junction of the Euphrates and Pallacopas, a hard and rocky bottom, he commanded a canal to be cut there, which served to moderate the inundations at one season, without too much draining the waters at another.

The important design of uniting, by laws and manners, the subjects of his extensive monarchy, was continually present to his mind. He therefore incorporated in his barbarian armies the Greeks and Macedonians.* In each company, or rather in each division of sixteen, he added four Europeans to twelve Asiatics: on the other hand, in the Macedonian squadrons and battalions, he intermixed such of the barbarians as were most distinguished by their strength, their activity, and their merit.

Whilst Alexander was at Suza, he learned that his soldiers, indulging the extravagance too natural to their profession, had contracted immense debts,

debts, which they had neither the ability nor the inclination to pay. Upon this intelligence he commanded that each man should give an account of what he owed, with the names of his creditors, declaring that he was determined to satisfy them at his own expence. The soldiers suspecting that Alexander wished only to become acquainted with their manner of life, and to learn whether they were extravagant or œconomical, denied, or diminished their debts; but Alexander issued out orders again, and observed, "That it became not a prince to deceive his people, nor a people to suppose their prince capable of deceit." Faithful lists were then presented, and the whole debts liquidated, to the amount of four millions sterling.

This event was followed by a transaction of a different nature. In the royal palace of Suza, he publicly espoused Barcine, the daughter of Darius; and gave her youngest sister in marriage to his favourite Hephestion. Fourscore Persian ladies of rank were given to the principal favourites among Alexander's officers. The nuptials were solemnized after the Persian manner. He likewise feasted all the Macedonians who had married before in that country; and it is said, that the soldiers, encouraged by presents, and by the hope of royal favour, followed the example of their leaders; and that ten thousand Greeks and Macedonians married Asiatic women.

Alexander now gave himself up to mirth and feasting; and his army was followed by all the ministers of pleasure. He spent whole days and nights in immoderate drinking, and in one of those excesses his friend Hephestion lost his life.

During

During three days and nights after the death of the favourite, Alexander neither changed his apparel, nor tasted food. Throughout the whole empire a public mourning was decreed: funeral games were celebrated in the large cities: the royal cohort assumed the name and banner of Hephestion; and a monument was erected to him, whom the oracle of Ammon declared deserving of heroic worship.

Soon after, Alexander formed the design of cutting timber in the Hyrcanian forest, that he might build ships, and explore the undiscovered shores of the Caspian and Arabian seas; but neither could his lofty designs, nor the glory of war, nor the pomp of royalty, appease his grief for the loss of Hephestion; and it is thought that the death of his beloved friend accelerated his own.

Alexander having subdued the Cosseans, a warlike nation, inhabiting the mountains of Media, marched towards Babylon. The king who had so often employed superstition as an instrument of policy, began himself to fall a prey to that miserable delusion. It was not long before his courtiers and subjects became sensible of the foible of their master, and endeavoured to abuse his weakness. Apollodorus, who had been entrusted with the government of Babylon, and behaved himself ill in that station, tampered with Pythagoras, a diviner. When therefore he drew near to Babylon, a deputation was sent, requesting the king not to enter that city, because they foresaw it would be prejudicial to his health. As the Babylonish astrologers were held in great repute, this advice made a deep impression on his mind, and filled him with confusion

fusion and dread. The Greek philosophers being told the foundation of his fear and scruples, waited upon him, and fully demonstrated to the king the vanity and absurdity of divination. He was convinced by their reasoning, and immediately marched his army towards Babylon.

The Chaldæans, therefore, failing in their first attempt, had recourse to another expedient. They entreated him at least, not to enter the city on the eastern side; but to make a circuit round, and march with his face towards the rising sun. Alexander prepared to comply with their request; but the marshiness of the soil rendered his design impracticable. He was therefore reluctantly compelled to enter Babylon by the forbidden road.

Whilst he remained in that city, superstitious fears, awakened by the intrigues of Apollodorus, or the artifices of the Chaldæans, greatly disturbed his mind. Several circumstances that had happened during the time of his expedition into India, confirmed him in these scrupulous ideas. He had conversed with the Brachmans, who *practised* the philosophy that Plato *taught*, and whose contempt for the pomp and pleasures of the present life was founded on the firm belief of a future, better, and more permanent state of existence. The fortunate ambition of Alexander justly appeared to those learned eastern sages, rather as an object of derision or pity, than of admiration. When they looked at Alexander, they stamped on the ground with their feet. By this action they meant to indicate, that he who had filled the world with the fame of his exploits must soon be confined within a narrow space of ground, in the silent grave. This necessary and important lesson

son had great effect on the mind of the king. The Brachmans were rebuked by the courtiers and flatterers of Alexander for insulting, as they said, the son of Jupiter, who had the power to reward or punish them; but the sages replied by saying, "that all men were the sons of Jupiter;" that they equally disdained the rewards, as they defied the punishments of the king; and that should Alexander take away their lives, he would thereby relieve them from the load of frail mortality.

One of the Brachmans, however, expressed a desire to accompany the king in his expedition. Alexander treated him with great respect, and when Celanus (for that was the name of the sage) fell sick in Persia in his seventy-third year, the prince earnestly desired him not to anticipate his fate by a voluntary death. But finding him inflexibly bent on his purpose, he allowed a pyre to be constructed, and the Brachman was carried to it in a litter. Having embraced all present, he refused to take leave of Alexander, saying, that "he should again see him in Babylon." He then, in sight of the whole army, mounted the pyre. The music struck up, and the soldiers raised a shout of war; while the Indian with a serene countenance expired amidst the flames, singing a hymn to the gods of his country.

The words of a dying man were considered by the Greeks as prophetical. Those of Celanus sunk deep into the mind of Alexander, and the painful impression which they made, induced him to hasten his journey from a city in which many concurring circumstances forbade to re-
B. C. side. His life, however, was now drawing
324. to close: he indulged himself in that banqueting and festivity to which, after the fatigues of

of war, he had been extremely addicted. An excessive abuse of wine put a period to his existence in the thirty-third year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

In a scene of drunken debauchery, Clitus, emboldened by wine, daringly insulted his prince, vilified his noblest actions, and derided his pretensions to divinity. The king was also intoxicated, and Clitus continuing his insolent conduct, Alexander in an unhappy moment, thrust a spear into the breast of his friend. He instantly, however repented of the action, and would have destroyed himself with the same weapon, had he not been prevented by his attendants.

Notwithstanding the splendour of his actions and the greatness of his atchievements, there appears to be but little to admire, and still less to imitate in the character of Alexander. The courage for which he was so much celebrated, is only a subordinate virtue, depending chiefly on constitutions and spirits. The fortunate issue that attended his enterprizes was little more than an accidental advantage. Philip cultivated and produced that martial discipline, which distinguished the troops of Alexander; but his intemperance, his cruelty, his vanity, his passion for useless conquests, were all his own. His victories however served to crown the pyramid of Grecian glory; and demonstrated to the world, to what a degree of excellence the arts of peace can promote those of war. In this picture, we view a combination of petty states, by the arts of refinement, becoming superior to the rest of the world, and leaving mankind an example of the inferiority of brutal force to the nobler advantages of intellect.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Death of Alexander the Great to the Battle of Ipsus.

SOON after the death of Alexander, his friends were convened, and all the principal commanders of the army were summoned to an assembly. As soon as silence was obtained, Perdiccas gave orders that the chair of Alexander should be produced, on which he placed the insignia of royalty, together with the ring that Alexander had given him as an earnest of his friendship and esteem. Perdiccas then declared that it was indispensably requisite some person should be elected head of the government; and that as Roxana was with child, if she brought forth a son, he ought to be acknowledged the successor of his father, and the monarch of the Macedonian empire. This, however, was displeasing to the majority, who had begun to entertain an affection for Aridæus, the brother of Alexander, on account of his mildness and moderation. They therefore arrayed him in the royal robes, buckled him with the armour of Alexander, and saluted him by the name of Philip, that he might thereby be rendered more popular. He was, however, a man of weak intellects, not by nature, but by the practices of Olympias, who, by poisonous draughts, had debilitated both his constitution and his mind.

Perdiccas strenuously, though secretly, opposed the election of Aridæus to the throne; but finding that his influence in the general council

was likely to be outweighed, he immediately saw the necessity of disguising his real sentiments, and therefore coincided with the rest. It was however decreed, that the sovereignty should be divided between Aridæus, and the child to be born of Roxana, provided it should prove a son. Perdiccas on every occasion endeavoured to insinuate himself into the favour of the newly elected king, and contrived to procure the death of those who had been the means of raising him to the throne. In order that he might secnre to himself the affection of the army, Philip was persuaded to marry Eurydice, the grand-daughter of Philip, whose mother, through his instigation, had lost her life.

This action was certainly calculated to ensure the warm and steady support of the soldiers, as it appeared to continue the government of the empire in his family. It was necessary also that he should conciliate the friendship of Roxana, whose son was intended to share the sovereignty with him. By this time also she had been delivered of a boy, who was named Alexander. Barsine, likewise, the daughter of Darius, whom the king had married at Suza, was with child. It was therefore resolved between Roxana and Perdiccas, that, lest another son should appear to dispute the throne with Alexander, it was necessary to conspire the death of Barsine. Accordingly she suffered soon after; and Parysatis, the sister of Barsine, and widow of Hephestion, underwent the same fate. By these nefarious proceedings, Perdiccas endeavoured to obtain and secure the favour and esteem of Aridæus and Roxana; but whilst the Macedonian empire seemed to be under the dominion of two kings,

kings, it was in effect subject to the authority and guidance of one ruler only. No act, whether legislative or executive, was passed, unless it originated from Perdiccas.

The supremacy in affairs, which this ambitious man had acquired, did not however satisfy him. His views extended much farther, than to the possession of mere temporary honours, and he looked to the time when he should be saluted and reverenced as monarch of the Macedonian empire. He determined to render the distinctions he had already obtained, as permanent as they were really great and substantial. It was necessary, therefore, to remove from the court all competitors, and to place them in such distant and separate situations, that they could not eclipse his glory, nor rival his power; and to attain this purpose, it was requisite, that the several subordinate governments and great offices of the empire, should be judiciously distributed. A council was therefore holden, in which it was resolved, that the following arrangements should be made in the name of the two kings. Antipater had the government of the European provinces, as general of the army in that continent; Craterus was vested with the title of protector in that part; and Perdiccas had the office, with the title of general of the household troops, in the room of Hephestion. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, had Egypt, Lybia, and that part of Arabia which borders upon Egypt. To Lysimachus fell Thrace and the Chersonese; Eumenes had Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; Antigonus had Phrygia the greater, Lycia, and Pamphylia; and Seleucus was appointed commander of the royal cavalry. The station of Perdiccas might

seem the meanest and most inconsiderable; but, though it wanted the decorations of splendour, that deficiency was more than compensated by the power which it conferred. Perdiccas was at full liberty to prosecute the great purposes of his ambition. The two kings were at his disposal, and he was at the head of a trusty and well-disciplined body of soldiers, while, on the other hand, his rivals were obliged to seek their fortunes in distant parts of the world.

Meanwhile, the Greek colonies, whom the conqueror of the east had settled in upper Asia, weary of continuing in that country, prepared to return home. Having, therefore, united their forces, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand men, they took their departure for Europe, without requesting the permission of Perdiccas. That general, foreseeing the consequences of such an enterprize, at a time when every thing was in motion, and when the troops, and their officers, aspired at independence, dispatched Pithon to oppose them. On his arrival, he brought over by money three thousand Greeks, who treacherously deserted their comrades during the engagement, and Python thereby obtained a complete victory. The vanquished troops surrendered, on condition that their lives and liberties should be preserved. The Macedonians, however, who had received different orders from Perdiccas, inhumanly slaughtered them all without the least regard to the terms they had granted them.

The news of Alexander's death having reached Athens, excited a considerable tumult in that city, and occasioned universal demonstrations of joy. The people, who had reluctantly, but silently

lently, endured the Macedonian yoke, immediately prepared for war; and a deputation was instantly sent to all the states of Greece, inviting them to join in a confederacy against Macedonia. Demosthenes, who amidst his misfortunes always retained an ardent zeal for the interest and glory of his country, was at that time in exile at Megara. He, however, joined himself with the Athenian ambassadors, and, seconding their remonstrances by the irresistible force of his eloquence, engaged Argos, Corinth, and the other cities of Peloponnesus, to accede to the league, for restoring the liberty of Greece. The Athenians, struck with admiration at so generous and disinterested an action, immediately passed a decree, that Demosthenes should be recalled from banishment: A galley was therefore dispatched for him at Ægina, and when he entered the Piræus, the magistrates and principal persons of the city went to meet this illustrious exile, and received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy and affection. Demosthenes was sensibly affected with the extraordinary honours thus rendered him by his country, and amidst the acclamations of the people lifted up his hands towards Heaven, and gave thanks to the gods.

Phocion and Demosthenes, however, were, as usual, divided in opinion. The former being asked when he would advise the Athenians to make war, replied, "Whenever the young men observe a strict discipline; the rich contribute, according to their abilities, towards the exigences of the state; and the orators no longer rob the public." The sentiments of Phocion were the more prudent, those of Demosthenes the more glorious.

 Leosthenes

Leosthenes having raised a powerful army, marched against Antipater. That general being apprised of the commotions in Greece, dispatched couriers to Leonatus in Phrygia, and to Craterus in Cilicia, to solicit assistance. Before, however, the expected reinforcements arrived, he directed his course into Thessaly, at the head of only thirteen thousand Macedonian infantry and six hundred horse. The Thessalians, at first, declared in favour of Antipater; but when they saw the confederated Greeks advancing, and perceived how greatly superior they were in numbers to the Macedonians, they revolted to the hostile army. Antipater, however, was not discouraged by their defection, but ventured an engagement, in which his forces were defeated. Not daring to hazard another battle, he retired to Lamia, a city of Thessaly, which he caused to be fortified, and prepared to make an obstinate defence.

The Athenians and confederate troops advanced to attack the town, and assaulted it with great bravery. The enemy, however, resisting them vigorously, they were obliged to convert the siege into a blockade, and to endeavour to reduce the place by famine. The city soon became sensible of the growing scarcity, and the besieged began to be seriously disposed to surrender, when Leosthenes, who hastened to the assistance of his workmen, whom the enemy had attacked, received a wound of which he died. This incident greatly discouraged the Athenians. They did not, however, despair, nor relinquish their system of conquest; but chose Amphipilus their general, a man equally esteemed by the troops for his valour and abilities.

In

In the mean time, Leonatus was marching to the assistance of the Macedonians besieged in Lamia, not with any real design of assisting Antipater, but that he might make himself master of those countries; and arrived within a small distance of the city, with twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. The army of the enemy was somewhat more numerous. An engagement ensued, in which the Athenians were victorious, and Leonatus perished in the field of battle. Overjoyed with their successes, and despising the feeble resistance of the Macedonians, many of the Grecian troops returned home, to boast of the triumph they had obtained, and to congratulate their friends on the revival of ancient freedom When these agreeable advices reached Athens, Phocion, apprehensive of the consequences, exclaimed, "When shall we cease to conquer?" This rejoicing was, however, of short duration: Antipater having quitted the city the day after the battle, joined the reinforcement from Cilicia, under the command of Crateras; and a general engagement took place near the city of Cranon, in Thessaly, in which the confederated Greeks suffered a defeat.

After this battle, a deputation was sent to Antipater, requesting a general peace. That commander, however, replied, that he would treat separately with the several states and cities of the confederacy. The answer being received, the negociation was suspended; and the Greeks, disbanding their troops, returned home. In a short time, therefore, every city and every state was under the necessity of acceding to whatever terms Antipater thought fit to propose. Athens was the only city that was excepted from the peace.

peace. Phocion was sent at the head of an embassy to conciliate the favour of Antipater, and to negociate with that general a treaty of amity. The terms, however, on which this favour was granted, were equally subversive of Athenian honour and power; for it was demanded that Demosthenes and Hyperides should be delivered up. This distinction they undoubtedly owed to their superior services, performed in the cause of their country. The democratical form of government was to be abolished; the ancient mode of taxes restored; the obnoxious were to forfeit their municipal rights, and Athens was to receive a Macedonian garrison, and to defray the expences of the war.

Some of the Athenians seemed satisfied with these conditions, and considered them as lenient and moderate; but Xenocrates thought otherwise, and said, "They are moderate for slaves, but extremely severe for free men." They were, however, compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garrison, commanded by Menyllus,
B. C. 322. a man of probity, and an intimate friend of Phocion. To such a humiliating condition was Athens now reduced, which had formerly been the glory of the world! Upwards of twelve thousand Athenians were disfranchised; many of them, finding their situation insupportable, went into Thrace, and settled there.

Upon the arrival of the messenger who brought the first accounts to Athens of the disgraceful treaty which had been concluded, Demosthenes fled to Celauria, a small island opposite to Troezene. Antipater, informed that the orator had eluded his vengeance by flight, dispatched

patched Archias, a player, to seize him. Having therefore sailed to the island with a body of troops, he spared no pains to persuade him to return home, and assured him that Antipater would treat him with humanity. Demosthenes, however, knew Antipater too well to expect any favour from him; and to prevent, therefore, the designs of the tyrant, he swallowed poison, and soon fell dead at the foot of the altar, where he had taken sanctuary.

In the mean time, Perdiccas, who had formerly married Nicea, the daughter of Antipater, having obtained the regency of the whole Macedonian empire, became more exalted in his thoughts, and was desirous of espousing Cleopatra, the sister of the late king. So near an alliance with the family of Alexander would, he expected, secure to him the throne. Antigonus penetrated the designs of Perdiccas, and foresaw that the success of the regent would be his own destruction; he therefore passed over into Greece, and disclosed to Antipater the plan which Perdiccas had formed for obtaining the sovereignty. Ptolemy also, the governor of Egypt, was engaged in their interest; and preparations were made for frustrating the projects of the regent.

Ptolemy remonstrated with Perdiccas on the inequality of the arrangements which had been made in the empire, and was the first who disclaimed the power of the united monarchs, and prepared in the face of the world to act the part of an independent sovereign. Removed at such a distance from the seat of government, he could strengthen his army, and establish his dominion, without interruption. Encouraged by these circum-

circumstances, he hastened to render his possessions stable and secure. Perdiccas, who had early notice of these proceedings, deliberated whether he should march into Egypt with a powerful army, or first direct his course towards Macedonia, and engage Antipater and Craterus. The preparations, however, which Ptolemy had made, seemed too alarming to admit of any delay; it was therefore resolved, that Perdiccas should march against him, while Eumenes, with a numerous body of forces, guarded the Asiatic provinces against Antipater and Craterus.

After undergoing considerable fatigue, the regent and his army passed the Egyptian frontier. Hostilities immediately commenced, and frequent and vigorous efforts were made by the royal troops against Ptolemy, but in vain. The forces of that general were uniformly victorious, and the soldiers of Perdiccas, dejected by their ill success, and exasperated by the haughty and overbearing deportment of their commander, mutinied, and slew him in his tent.

During these transactions, the other parties were not inactive: Antipater entered Cilicia, with an intention of assisting Ptolemy in Egypt; and Craterus was detached, with the remainder of the forces, against Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. The reputation of Craterus was so great among the Macedonians, that it was expected when he appeared in the field, all the national troops of the hostile army would immediately revolt and arrange themselves under the banners of their favourite general. Eumenes was aware of this danger, and in order to guard against such an accident, kept his army ignorant of the enemy against whom they had to contend,

contend, and posted the foreign troops opposite the Macedonian soldiers. By that cautious management, the forces under the command of Eumenes never knew against whom they fought until they beheld Craterus breathless on the field of battle.

By the death of Craterus, Philla, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had married, was left a widow. From a two-fold cause, therefore, Antipater must have been afflicted by the loss which he had sustained. He was not, however, doomed to mourn long; a palliative was very soon brought him, which was the intelligence of the death of Perdiccas. In consequence of that important event, Antipater was solicited to join the army in Syria, in order to make new arrangements for the government of the empire. He therefore hastened thither with all expedition, and upon his arrival was unanimously elected protector of the kings.

As soon as he was invested with this authority, he made a new partition of the provinces, in which all those were excluded who had espoused the interests of Perdiccas and Eumenes. He also re-established others, whom the opposite faction had dispossessed; and in this division, Seleucas, who had great authority from the command of the cavalry, obtained the government of Babylon, and afterwards became the most powerful of all Alexander's successors. Antipater having adjusted matters in Asia, sent Antigonus with an army against Eumenes, who was determined in his purpose of waging war with the enemies of Perdiccas, because he considered them as inimical to the real interests of Macedon. His son Cassander was also appointed to the

the command of a considerable body of troops, with secret injunctions to guard with a jealous eye the proceedings of Antigonus. He disputed not the valour and conduct of that general; but he prudently thought him too bold and enterprising to be constantly awed by the irresolute and tardy commands of a distant and distracted government. Antipater then returned to Macedon.

Antigonus prepared to act with uncommon vigour against Eumenes. He had every incentive to dispatch: his temper was naturally suited to action; he was dissatisfied with the manner in which the great departments in the state were filled; and bearing an enmity against Eumenes, he had the sanction of authority for crushing him at once. An engagement soon followed, in which Eumenes, by the treachery of one of his soldiers, was completely defeated. This discomfiture, however, occasioned one of the most extraordinary actions of his life: he returned unperceived to the field of battle, burned the bodies of his slain companions, and raised over their ashes a mound of earth; then dismissing the sick and wounded of his army, he retired with six hundred men to the castle of Nora, a place of great strength on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, in which he sustained a siege of twelve months, against the whole strength of Antigonus's army, and at length forced it to retire.

B. C. 320.

During these transactions in Asia, the Athenians, dissatisfied with the Macedonian garrison in their city, sent Denades to request Antipater that he would recal the troops from Athens. The Athenians had first applied to Phocion, whose

whose influence with that general they knew to be great. But he declined to interfere in the business, and only procured the restoration of the exiles to their homes and ancient privileges. It is probable that he perceived it to be too late a period of their national existence for them to be able to guard themselves. Demades, however, undertook the commission with pleasure. The dignity and glory of their ancestors returned to the minds of the Athenians, and they hoped that he would, at least, procure them the semblance of freedom.

Demades, as we have formerly seen, had been the creature and favourite of Philip and of his successors. He it was that drew up the decree of banishment against the eloquent, the patriotic, and disinterested Demosthenes. He was not destitute of abilities or eloquence; but he wanted probity and disinterestedness. Antipater said he had two friends at Athens:—Phocion, who would never accept any reward for his services; and Demades that never thought he received enough. Whether the Macedonian governor had discontinued his largesses, or Demades considered them as not sufficiently liberal, we know not; certain it is, that he had formed a correspondence with Perdiccas, whom he invited to assume the government of Greece and of Macedon. A letter he had written to that commander was intercepted, in which were these words: "Come, and be the support of Macedon and Greece, which at present lean on an old rotten staff," meaning Antipater. This discovery had taken place immediately preceding his setting out to request the recal of the Macedonian garrison. His son, therefore, who accompanied

panied him, was put to death in the sight of Demades, after which he himself was immediately slain. Thus were the Greeks reduced to the necessity of imploring liberty with the servility of slaves, which they had hitherto demanded with the noble confidence of an independent people!

Antipater did not long survive the orator Demades; and his death happened soon after his return from his Asiatic expedition. He had undergone excessive fatigue, in keeping the Greeks under the subjection of Macedon, and in adjusting matters in Asia, which probably conspired to accelerate his end. Ever active, faithful, and zealous in the cause of his country, he suffered himself to enjoy but little repose. The differences which subsisted in Macedon, and the instruction of his countrymen in the arts of peace, had employed his attention after his arrival. His body had become enfeebled and emaciated, and the anxiety of his mind occasioned a violent and inveterate disease. Amidst this complicated distress, he acted as became his descent, and the excellence of his understanding. Finding his end approaching he assembled his friends, and the friends of his country, and gave them instructions relative to the course of conduct, which it was equally their duty and their interest to pursue. It was necessary to appoint a governor over Macedon, and a regent of the empire. He knew the importance of those stations, and was sensible that his own glory and reputation, the interest of the state, and the preservation of the Macedonian empire, required a person to be nominated whose age, experience, and former services, would command authority and respect.

Under

Under these impressions, therefore, he bequeathed to Polyperchon, the eldest of all Alexander's captains at that time in Europe, the two high offices of protector and governor of Macedon. Thus did Antipater sacrifice the interest of his family to that of the empire, and died full of years and of glory.

Cassander, who was in Asia at the time of his father's decease, apprehending in what a perilous situation Antipater's death had left himself and the friends of the late administration in Macedon, was resolved to attempt something for their safety. He revolved in his mind the character of Polyperchon, who was equally destitute of wisdom, of resolution, and of probity; and his ambition also prompted him to attempt the recovery of that command, of which he had been deprived by the will of his father; and he contrived a method for procuring himself satisfaction. Under the pretence, therefore, of taking the diversion of hunting, he engaged several of his friends to accompany him into the country. When they were at some distance from court, he assembled them together and disclosed his mind. He told them the only reason for bringing them to that place was, that he might confer with them on matters of the greatest importance, and have the advantage of their opinions. He alluded, he said, to the recent change in the government, and to the probable consequences that were likely to flow from it. He then expatiated at some length on the dangers that threatened them, from the junction of interests between Polyperchon and Olympias, who was the implacable enemy of Antipater's friends, and whom the protector had recalled from her

retirement in Epirus, and had appointed her to superintend the rearing of Alexander, the son of Roxana. It is uncertain whether Cassander communicated to his friends at that time, the whole of his project, and of his intention of supplanting the protector. His remonstrances, however, produced the desired effect; and many avowed themselves his partisans, in whose confidence he resolved to act independently and openly.

While Cassander was thus employed in forming projects for subverting the government, Polyperchon was busied in securing his dominion in Greece. He had held a council of state, in which it was determined, that all the governors whom Antipater had appointed in the Grecian communities should be displaced, and that democracy should be every where re-established. An edict was therefore published, the introduction and conclusion of which abounds with protestations, that the sole intent of the court, by the measure enjoined, was to restore liberty to Greece.

This edict, notwithstanding the gracious purpose for which Polyperchon pretended to publish it, did not meet with unanimous approbation. The main object of it was to break the power of the late governors; but they were unwilling to submit to a decree which evidently tended to injure them. They hesitated for a while, and then applied to Cassander for relief. Athens being of more consequence to the Macedonian government than any other Grecian state, the eyes of all men were turned on Nicanor, governor of that city. It was obvious, that had Nicanor immediately complied with the injunctions of the

the edict, most of the other cities and states in Greece would have followed his example: but he expressed a diffidence at first, relative to the authority of Polyperchon; and after he had rereceived letters from Olympias on the subject, devised new schemes of procrastination, until he had sufficiently reinforced his garrison at Munichia. Instead, therefore, of quitting the fort, according to the injunction of the decree, he unexpectedly seized the Piræus.

The Athenians, intoxicated with the ideal liberty which they now enjoyed, and provoked at the conduct of Nicanor, determined to rid themselves of those that seemed to oppose the wishes of their deliverers. For that purpose they turned their fury upon the patriotic Phocion, and some of the most distinguished citizens of Athens. These withdrew from the rage of the people, and threw themselves on the mercy of Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, who was entering Attica with a powerful army; and by this time also the protector himself was at hand, with Philip Aridæus, and another large body of forces.

Alexander, having heard Phocion and the other fugitives relate their account of the matter, was convinced of their innocence, and of the injustice of the decree; and in consequence sent letters of recommendation with them to his father. They were accompanied by Dinarchus, a Corinthian, and an old and intimate friend of Polyperchon; but scarcely were they arrived at the camp of the regent, when deputies came from Athens, accusing them of high treason. Polyperchon was at a loss for some time how he should act in this matter: his son had precipitately and imprudently pledged his faith to the

 exiles,

exiles, but the interest of his cause would, he considered, be best promoted by complying with the wishes of the Athenians. Always unsteady in his sentiments and sanguine in his measures, Polyperchon no sooner conceived this idea than he gave orders that his old acquaintance Dinarchus should be first tortured, and then put to death; while Phocion and his companions were bound and sent back in carts to Athens, with this message, "That though he was convinced they had been traitors to their country, yet he left them to the judgment of the Athenians as a free people."

Phocion demanded, "whether he was to be judged according to the accustomed form of law?" Being answered in the affirmative, he replied, "How can that be, since we are not allowed an impartial hearing?" Perceiving by the clamour of the people that no defence was to be allowed them, he exclaimed, "With regard to myself, I acknowledge the crime of which I am accused, and chearfully submit to the sentence of the law. But consider, O Athenians! what these men have done, that they should be involved in the same punishment with me." The people vehemently cried out, "They are your accomplices, and therefore that is sufficient for condemning them." The decree was then read, and Phocion, Nicocles, Aheudippus, Agamon, and Pythocles, were sentenced to suffer death; and Demetrius Phalereus, Callimedon, Charicles, and others, were condemned in their absence. Many persons moved, that Phocion should be tortured before he was put to death; but the majority of the people considered that punishment as too severe. Whilst the votes were collecting,

collecting, many placed garlands on their heads, and demonstrated all the satisfaction that could have been felt had the most powerful enemy of the public suffered a defeat. An intimate friend took the opportunity of asking Phocion, as they were bearing him to execution, if he had any commands to his son. "Only," replied he very coolly, "that he forget the ill treatment which his father received from the Athenians."

The resentment of his enemies was not allayed by the death of Phocion: a decree was passed, by which his body was banished the Athenian territories, and any person that should furnish fire for his funeral pile was subjected to a penalty. One Conopian took up the corpse, and carried it beyond Eleusina, where he borrowed fire of a Megarian woman, and burned it. A matron of that state, who attended on the occasion, raised a humble monument to perpetuate the memory of the unfortunate orator. Having collected the ashes, she carried them home, and buried them under her hearth; putting up the following prayer to her household gods: "To you, O ye deities! guardians of this place, do I commit the precious remains of the most excellent Phocion. Protect them, I beseech you, from every insult, and deliver them one day to be deposited in the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall have become wiser."

A short time only intervened before the prayer of the pious matron was fulfilled. The Athenians, like all democracies, passed from one extreme to the other. They recollected the many services he had performed the state; and therefore decreed the victim of their rage a statue of

brass; ordered his ashes to be brought back at the public expense; and passed an act, that his accusers should be put to death. Agonides, who was the principal person in promoting the plot against Phocion, was seized and executed; but Epicurus and Demophilus fled. Phocion's son, however, pursued and slew them.

When we consider the integrity, the magnanimity, the sober and steady zeal for the welfare of his country, which Phocion uniformly displayed, we must confess, that none of all his fellow-citizens were more truly patriotic. He aimed not to obtain the favour of the rich and great, and yet was frequently able to stem the popular tide. He was not to be intimidated by the threats and frowns of the people; and sometimes espoused the cause of the few, who stood high, but alone. Destitute of that enthusiasm which sometimes threatened to mislead his competitor Demosthenes, Phocion equalled in probity that illustrious orator. His opposition to the most popular men of his time has been the cause of his making so distinguished a figure in the state, and forms the most prominent feature in his character. It would be no difficult task to prove, that the motives on which he acted were honest, prudent, and commendable. The words which he made use of when Demosthenes endeavoured to excite the people to resist the power of Macedon, shews at once the greatness of his wisdom, and the extensiveness of his knowledge with respect to the real condition of the neighbouring states at that time. "Since," said he, "the Athenians can no longer fill their wonted glorious station, let them adopt counsels adequate

quate to their abilities, and endeavour to court that power, which they cannot provoke but to their ruin."

He was the only Athenian that ever occasionally commanded the respect of the friends and enemies of his country. In a word, he was a rational and a *peaceable* patriot. He wished indeed to see the aggrandizement of his native country; but he was anxious that its grandeur should arise from those ingenious arts which are the consequence of national tranquillity.

While these things were transacting, Cassander, seeing no hopes of immediate success to his undertaking by the greatest effort of all the

B.C. 318.

power he could then command in Europe, judged it necessary to seek assistance in some other quarter. He had endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the Macedonians, and to engage them warmly in his cause; Antigonus, he was sensible, would be ready to oppose any person that should possess the invidious office of protector of the kings; and to him, therefore, he determined to make application for relief. It is to be numbered among the political errors of the new administration in Macedon, that after openly attacking the friends and dependents of Antipater, and receiving Olympias into a participation of the government, Cassander should be suffered to withdraw himself into Asia, where his representations and remonstrances might be productive of the most dangerous and baneful effects. Antigonus received Cassander with the greatest affability and kindness. He hated Polyperchon; and to execute vengeance on him he saw would be the shortest and most sure road to the conquest of Asia,

Asia, which was now become the great object of his ambition.

The forces which Cassander obtained of Antigonus were not numerous, but to a man of his fertile and enterprising genius, any number of troops proved of considerable importance, and were capable of achieving great exploits. When he had received reinforcements he sailed for Athens, and entering the Piræus with his small fleet, was welcomed to Greece by Nicanor. With respect to the new government, he entertained sentiments congenial with those of Cassander; he had been appointed governor of Munichia by Antipater during his regency; he was the first that dared openly and boldly to resist the edict of Polyperchon; and on that account he had been exposed to many and great dangers. None, therefore, appeared more likely to second the views and designs of his visitor with greater sincerity.

Polyperchon being informed of the arrival of Cassander, instantly resolved to blockade his competitor in Athens, and to make a vigorous effort by sea and land, to terminate the war at once by the reduction of that city. For that purpose, therefore, he assembled a numerous army, and marched into Attica. This portion of Greece was never remarkable for the fertility of its lands; and the numerous forces which Polyperchon had collected soon caused a scarcity of provisions in that country. This scarcity induced the protector to alter the measures he had proposed, as he despaired of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. Leaving troops, therefore, under the command of his son Alexander, who had orders to observe the motions of the enemy, and to keep

them

them in awe, he marched with the rest of the army into Peloponnesus, where he knew his opponent had many friends.

By this time Clytus had set sail with the fleet to meet that of Cassander, which was under the conduct of Nicanor. A battle was fought in which this latter commander was defeated, and obliged to betake himself to flight. The fleet of Nicanor, however, being refitted, and reinforced by light-armed troops, sent over in barks by Antigonus, he soon found himself in a condition to face the enemy again. Having, therefore, put to sea, he came up with the armament of Clytus, whilst at anchor at Byzantium, and obtained a complete victory. After the engagement, Clytus himself was killed by an insurrection of the soldiers of Lysimachus.

In the mean time Polyperchon had entered Peloponnesus, and had recourse to his edict once more. He was determined that his commands should be obeyed, and in case of refusal threatened to inflict the most severe punishment. This decree was carried into execution in most of the Grecian communities, and discord, slaughter, and confusion every where prevailed. Those who had borne any office under the administration of Antipater were put to death, or at least driven into banishment. These tyrannical proceedings of the protector excited the just odium of the discerning part of the people. The Megalopolitans were the most considerable body of men that had the prudence and address to avoid these internal dissensions. The magistrates and people having consulted on this affair, unanimously determined to retain their present form of government, and to remain, if possible, in tranquillity.

tranquillity. This resolution was considered by the protector as treasonable: he declared that it was not only an open and avowed insult on his authority, but a tacit acknowledgment that the Megalopolitans were the coadjutors and abettors of Cassander's rebellion, and, therefore, denounced exemplary punishment against that people. The Megalopolitans fully understood the meaning of the protector, but they had taken their measures in time, and their counsels were not easily to be overturned. They withdrew their effects from the country, fortified their city, and, the number of fighting men amounting to fifteen thousand, determined to make a desperate resistance against the enemy.

Polyperchon made good his threats: he appeared before the city, accompanied by Philip Aridæus, the king, with a very considerable army and a number of elephants. His engineers were exceedingly active: before the besieged expected that they had begun to work, three towers, with all the wall between them, were undermined and fell to the ground. A breach being thus effected, Polyperchon led his army to the assault, which was vigorously supported on both sides; but the Megalopolitans finally repulsed the besiegers.

This repulse did not discourage Polyperchon from prosecuting his designs. He determined to renew the attack, and to avail himself of the use of his elephants. When this was reported to the Megalopolitans, they were greatly distressed at the thoughts of being attacked by those terrible animals. They were, however, soon relieved from their uneasiness on that account. It happened that a person named Damides was among

among them, who had served under Alexander in his eastern expedition, and who undertook to render the elephants perfectly useless to the besiegers, and harmless to the besieged. The plan he made use of was this—he caused long pieces of planks to be driven into the ground, into each of which he fixed several iron spikes: over the spikes he threw some rubbish, that the enemy might not perceive them: this was done all along the inside of the breach. The citizens were then drawn up, not in front, but in flank, between the city and these machines, and at each end of the breach.

The besiegers were now ready to make the assault: they advanced in excellent order with the elephants in front. These animals, forced by their riders within the breach, stuck their feet on the spikes, and were unable to proceed any farther. The citizens instantly perceived this, and galled them and their riders with stones, darts, and other missile weapons. This occasioned a dreadful confusion. Many of the spikes had pierced the feet of the elephants so deep, that they were not only incapable of motion but fell to the ground. Others were so enraged by the pain they experienced, that they became ungovernable, turned upon their own men, and trod them under their feet. The Macedonian army seeing this disaster, refused to proceed; and Polyperchon, leaving a considerable body of horse and foot to block up the Megalopolitans in their city, was compelled to retire in disgrace. About the same time also news equally disagreeable and dishonourable was brought to the protector, relative to the complete and unexpected defeat of the admiral Clytus. After such

repeated losses he saw no prospect of acquiring any honour in Greece: the greatest part, therefore, of his army returned immediately to Macedon.

While these transactions were performing in Europe, Antigonus, who had been appointed to the government of the Phrygia greater, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, resolved to make himself master of all Asia. For that purpose he collected an army of sixty thousand foot, and nineteen thousand horse, together with many elephants. He made no secret of his intentions, but avowed his designs, and removed all the governors of provinces whom he suspected to be hostile to his measures. He endeavoured to gain the interest of Eumenes, and sent an able and confidential person to treat with that general in the castle of Aora, and to assure him that if he would become the friend and ally of Antigonus, he should have the most honourable situation in his court. Eumenes at first appeared to receive these overtures in a favourable manner; but when they tendered to him an oath that he would be faithful to the interests of Antigonus, he refused to make any such promise: Antigonus, therefore, became indignant at the conduct of Eumenes, and began to levy war on that general.

Polyperchon finding himself distressed by the treachery and power of Antigonus and of Cassanden, not only allowed Olympias to take up her abode in Macedon, but made her his chief confidant, and in a little time virtually committed to her care the government of the whole nation. She was a woman of a violent and revengeful temper of mind, but not destitute of discernment.

ment. The deep and often fatal intrigues in which she had been concerned, had taught her the knowledge of mankind. That knowledge was exerted on the occasion of which we are now speaking. Instead of nominating to the chief commander in Asia one whose dissolute morals and licentious conduct promised fair to promote any arbitrary scheme which the court might propose, she appointed or advised Polyperchon to appoint Eumenes, who was the most loyal and steady friend that court had. Eumenes was, therefore, constituted commander in chief of the royal forces in Asia, and had a donation of five hundred talents awarded him for his recent services.

When Eumenes received the letters which conferred on him the supreme command in the east, he hastened to perform his duty, and to acquit himself with credit, but the rival with whom he had to contend was an active and enterprising commander. In the number of his soldiers, and also with regard to influence in the Asiatic provinces, Eumenes was greatly inferior to Antigonus. The former, therefore, was under the necessity of employing all the resources of his inventive genius: he did so, and he might have finally proved victorious had he not been betrayed by the perfidy of his friends. He considerably augmented his strength in a short space of time, and by granting appointments and conferring honours, he gained the favour and friendship of the most powerful officers in the opposite interest. The Argyraspide, a body of hardy Macedonian veterans, who, on account of their merit and bravery, had been presented by Alexander the Great with silver shields, were at first

extremely adverse to the appointment and the measures of Eumenes. They received him with all the marks of deference and respect which they could possibly devise; but Eumenes perceived that the civility of their conduct was only exterior, and that they had no real regard or esteeem for him. On the contrary, he was sensible that they envied his authority, and, therefore, endeavoured to render their malice ineffectual, and to provide for his own safety and the prosperity of the empire. His integrity and address soon attached those soldiers to his party.

The method which he took to prevent the superior officers ideas of precedency, and their mutual jealousy of being supplanted in their commander's favour from disturbing the peace of the army, was as follows. He informed them that in a dream he had seen Alexander arrayed in regal pomp, seated on his throne, and giving orders to his commanders as usual. He advised, therefore, that a tent of state should be erected, in which a throne of gold with all the insignia of royalty should be placed. Before this throne an altar of the same metal should be raised, on which each of the commanders were to offer sacrifice, and then seating themselves indiscriminately, consult the public safety. By this expedient he appeased dissensions among the powerful, and inspired the soldiers in general with enthusiatic bravery. But the device to which Eumenes was thus obliged to have recourse for quelling the factions that existed, demonstrated the dangerous and precarious ground on which the Macedonian commanders at that time stood.

Eumenes had not only to contend with Antigonus, but with many of the other governors of provinces,

provinces, whom ambitious projects and disaffection to the protectorship, rendered hostile to his measures. For about three years, however, that able and experienced general had evidently the advantage over all his adversaries, and his exertions held Asia in subjection to the Macedonian government.

While Eumenes was thus vindicating by his arms the honour and interests of the kings in the east, Cassander was gradually subverting their power in Europe. After Nicanor had defeated the armament under the command of Clytus, near Byzantium, he again resumed the government of Munichia. Cassander, sensible of the services which Nicanor had rendered to his cause, showed him the greatest attention and respect. They were upon the most friendly terms, when some person acquainted Cassander that the governor had a design to make himself sovereign of Attica. It happened also that Nicanor had reluctantly complied with admitting Cassander's troops into some of his forts; a circumstance, which being united with that report, awakened suspicion, which is nearly allied to revenge. In order to have Nicanor destroyed, Cassander posted some of his men in an empty house, and requested the governor to meet him there, under pretence of consulting about matters of importance. Nicanor accordingly appeared, and when he entered the house was attacked and murdered by the assassins.

This sanguinary measure roused the indignation of Nicanor's friends; but when they considered that Cassander was already in possession of the greater part of the city, and that Polyperchon would not be able to grant them much

 assistance,

assistance, in case they attempted a revolution, they judged it most proper to stifle their resentment, and to submit quietly to their fate. The engaging manners of Cassander contributed not a little to reconcile the Athenians to his government. His condescension and generosity, however, bespoke the crafty and submissive politician rather than the successful prince.

Among the first acts of his power he appointed Demetrius Phalereus to be governor of Athens. This man was a person of quality, a descendant of Conon, and possessed of extensive property; but neither his birth nor his fortune was equal to his virtues. He had studied under the philosopher Theophrastus, and from him derived practical as well as theoretical knowledge. He was himself at once a philosopher, an orator, and a man of exemplary morals. Phocion and Demosthenes had been his teachers in virtue and eloquence. The knowledge he had gained whilst a disciple of Theophrastus, enabled him to comprehend and encourage the pursuits of a literary and ingenious people; and his eloquence and upright conduct tended to check and controul the dissolute manners and licentiousness of the Athenians. Cicero also speaks very favourably of his oratory.

The moderation and mildness which he displayed towards the governed, procured him the esteem, and in some instances the affection of the people. They were soon induced to repose the greatest confidence in his wisdom and integrity, and that confidence he did not betray. That power which he might easily have converted into tyranny, he employed in promoting the wealth and grandeur of the Athenians. He

increased

increased their public revenues; adorned the city with many stately and magnificent structures, and restored such as were likely to fall through the injuries of time. In every other respect also he exhibited such indisputable marks of affection and regard for the people over whom he presided, that they bestowed on him very considerable honours.

The losses and disgrace which the arms of Polyperchon had recently suffered, made the protector sensible that he had no chance to retain the sovereignty of Greece. He was obliged, therefore, to content himself with the direction of Macedon. Attica was beyond the reach of his power, and the ill success with which his attempts upon the city of the Megalopolitans had been attended, had inspired all Greece with contempt of his authority. Under such circumstances ambition would have been futile and ridiculous; but he was destined to a still severer lot.

Olympias, as we have before seen, had been imprudently recalled by Polyperchon, to take charge of the infant son of Roxana, and to sanction by her presence the new administration of Macedon. Previously to her quitting Epirus, she had written to Eumenes in Asia, desiring his advice, whether she should remain in her present situation, or return into Macedonia. Eumenes, who always had the welfare of the state near to his heart, informed her that he considered it as most prudent to remain in Epirus until the war should be terminated. He advised her not to be too precipitate in her resolutions, but that, in case she did return to Macedon, she should forget the injuries which had been formerly done her,

her, and endeavour to conciliate the affections and esteem of the people. The sequel of her story will prove how little she regarded this prudent and friendly admonition of Eumenes.

She set out from Epirus, and arrived in Macedon very soon after. When her presence was announced great consternation and dismay seized the minds of the people, and even those who had been in habits of friendship and intimacy with the exiled queen, dreaded the effects of her resentment. The friends of Antipater, however, by whose influence she had been banished Macedon, had still greater reason to fear the consequences of her return; but above all Philip Aridæus and his queen. Aridæus was the son of Philip by a concubine, and on that account had from his infancy been subjected to the hatred and aversion of Olympias. The weakness of his intellects, and the debility of his constitution, were said to have been occasioned by the destructive potions which the queen obliged him to take. Perdiccas began his regency with the murder of Cynane, the wife of Amyntas, and mother of Aridæus's queen. This crime was perpetrated at the instigation of Olympias. Alexander, previous to his setting out on his eastern expedition, had also been advised by his mother to cause Amyntas to be murdered, that he might leave few in Macedon, who during his absence should aspire at the sovereignty; and this nefarious counsel was too faithfully followed.

It was not, therefore, to be supposed that either Philip or Eurydice his wife could look upon her with complacence. They, in fact, were sensible that they had every thing to fear from

her

her assuming any power; and Eurydice, who had more discernment than her husband, rightly conceived that Olympias would never be at rest until she had deprived Aridæus of the regal title and of his life. Under these ideas she began to levy an army, and requested all who respected the brother of Alexander, their late royal master, or his queen, or who revered the virtues and memory of Antipater, to unite in the defence of the rights and liberties of their country. She then wrote to Cassander, beseeching him to hasten to her assistance, and required Polyperchon to meddle no more in the administration, but to deliver up all to Cassander, to whom the king had deemed it expedient to delegate the regency of the empire. The Macedonians readily armed themselves in defence of Eurydice and her husband, and in a short time the queen had collected a force more than sufficient to screen her husband and herself from any violence which might be offered to their persons.

These hasty proceedings of Eurydice gave her enemies sufficient pretext for levying an armed force to oppose her measures. Olympias, who was ever jealous and watchful, had carefully observed the recent actions of Eurydice, and perceived that it was necessary she should be on her guard against the designs of the queen. Her brother had sent a body of Epirots to escort her from his kingdom. These she added to some Macedonian troops, whom her interest and power induced to follow her fortunes; and straightway marched her forces to join the army of Polyperchon, which was returning from the unfortunate expedition into Peloponnesus. Having formed a junction, the whole united army moved

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to attack the troops of Eurydice, who, animated by the cruel treatment her family had received, boldly led forth her forces to oppose the enemy.

It was not the intention of Eurydice to hazard a battle before the arrival of Cassander; but her too precipitate conduct in raising forces had roused the apprehensions of her adversaries; and their motions being thus quickened, it was impossible to defer fighting until Cassander should be able to march an army to the assistance of the king and his illustrious consort. The two contending parties therefore drew up their forces in order of battle; but the appearance of Olympias at the head of her troops, immediately terminated the dispute. When the two armies approached each other, the soldiers that should have fought for Eurydice, struck with the awful mien of Olympias, who appeared to possess all the dignity and majesty of the relict of Philip, and the mother of Alexander the Great, instantly deserted their standard, and arranged themselves under the banners of the enemy.

By this event Olympias, had she adhered to the advice of Eumenes, might have settled all things amicably and honourably; but her passions, which were strong and unrelenting, swayed her with ungovernable fury. By the defection of the troops, Philip and Eurydice fell into her hands; and she immediately proceeded to inflict a severe and unmerited punishment on the unhappy captives, who were soon after put to death.

Cassander having received intelligence of what was going on, hastened into Macedonia. When he arrived at the straits of Thermopylæ, he found the Thessalians in arms ready to oppose his passage;

sage; but expedition being his main object, he studied how to avoid delay. Collecting therefore all the ships which he could procure in the neighbourhood, he embarked his troops, and transported them safely into Thessaly. They reached Macedon before Polyperchon and Olympias were apprized of his approach. Cassander formed his army into two divisions, one of which was under the command of Callas, and he himself took the lead of the other. Callas had orders to engage the troops of Polyperchon, who was now separated from those of Olympias; while Cassander pursued the army of that vindictive women. After all the cruelties of which she had been guilty, she confided in the affection of the Macedonians: she had formerly triumphed by the majesty of her appearance, and she hoped to do it again, when she had proved to them the dangers and the hardships she was willing to undergo, in order to guard and strengthen the administration of her country. She had many followers, but they resembled a court rather than an army. She went to the principal cities, in company with her daughter Roxana, her grandson Alexander, her niece Deidamia, Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander, and many other persons of high birth and interest. With this numerous retinue, she was at length under the necessity of retiring to Pydna, a sea-port and well fortified town.

Cassander immediately invested the city by land, while his fleet blocked up the entrance of the harbour. The besieged soon began to be in want of provisions, but encouraged by the presence of many persons of distinction, they obstinately defended the place. Olympias also expected

pected that her brother Æacidas would send succours from Epirus to her assistance; which proved to be the case. Cassander, therefore, knowing that the army of that prince was in motion, detached part of his troops to block up the passages into Epirus. This was done so completely, that the army of Æacidas was reduced to great difficulties, and not only despaired of the success of the expedition, but of their own safety. Under these circumstances the troops mutinied, and deposing Æacidas, submitted to Cassander. The only person on whom Olympias now relied for relief was Polyperchon; but the detachment under Callas employed his attention so much, that he was unable to afford her any assistance. Callas had been at pains to represent to the army of Polyperchon, the cruelties and enormities of which the administration had been guilty; and he had thereby so effectually alienated the minds of the soldiers, that Polyperchon was scarcely able to defend himself.

The condition of the besieged was now become truly deplorable. The royal family fed on the flesh of horses, the soldiers on their dead companions, and the elephants on saw-dust. Numbers were induced by the miseries which prevailed in the city, to desert to Cassander, who received with lenity all that had not been concerned in the late murders. Olympias again turned her thoughts towards Polyperchon. She wrote him a letter, requesting that he would send a bark of fifty oars to convey her away by night. Cassander, however, having seized the messenger, disappointed the design. Olympias, not finding the vessel at the time she expected, gave up all hopes, and, without waiting any longer, surren-

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dered herself and her army to Cassander. This event determined the fate of all Macedon. Pella, the capital, soon after submitted to the conqueror. Aristonus who then commanded a body of troops at Amphipolis, at the request of Olympias, yielded that city to Cassander.

When Olympias submitted to Cassander, she stipulated for her life: but the kindred of those whose deaths she had occasioned, insisted that she should suffer. She was therefore accused before the assembly of the Macedonians, and without being heard in her defence, condemned to die. Cassander advised her to make her escape to Athens, and offered her a ship for that purpose; but Olympias refused to fly, and declared, that she was ready to answer before the Macedonians for whatever she had done. Cassander, however, was unwilling to abide the issue of such a trial as she demanded. He therefore sent a band of soldiers to put her to death. When they came into the prison, they were struck with awe, and refused to execute the orders they had received; but the relations of those who had fallen sacrifices to her cruelty, seized her, and cut her throat.

Immediately after the decease of Olympias, Roxana and her son Alexander were sent to Amphipolis, where they were made prisoners; and orders were given that they should be treated only as private persons. Hercules the son of Alexander by Barsine, the only remaining branch of the royal family, was murdered by Polyperchon, at the instigation of Cassander, about two years after. Eight years had not elapsed since the death of Alexander, and not a single branch of his house remained to enjoy a portion of

of that empire, which Philip and his son had acquired, at the expense of so much blood, danger, and treachery. Such to the royal family of Macedon were the effects of that ambition, which had lighted the torch of war over Europe, Asia, and Africa.

While Cassander was settling the affairs of Macedon, Polyperchon, and his son Alexander, were intriguing with the enemies of Antipater's family in Greece, and sowing the seeds of future dissension in that country. It was necessary that Cassander should endeavour to consult the interests of Greece, as well as of Macedon. He, therefore, determined to march an army into that country, that he might expel his enemies from thence. He directed his course into Thessaly, but found the Pylæ shut by the Ætolians, his avowed and inveterate enemies. Cassander however, forced the pass, and coming down into Bæotia, proceeded to the ruins of Thebes. The sight of these ruins, it is natural to imagine would lead him into a variety of reflections: it would remind him of the ancient power and splendour of that city; and of the renown and fate of that man and his family by whom it had been razed. These thoughts led him to the project of rebuilding the city, and of recalling its proscribed inhabitants, who were scattered throughout every part of Greece. Having, therefore, requested the assistance of the rest of the Bæotians, the walls of the city were soon finished and the principal streets rebuilt. The Thebans then sent to recal all their exiled countrymen; and their city which had been razed by the Macedonians, above twenty years before, was now rebuilt by the same people.

Cassander

Cassander having executed this design proceeded into Peloponnesus, and partly by force, partly by treaty, gained all the principal cities over to his cause, and then returned to Macedon.

While Cassander was thus employing his efforts to establish himself on the throne of Macedonia, Antigonus was concerting measures to rid himself of Eumenes. After being defeated by that general in most of the engagements that had taken place during several campaigns, Antigonus determined to make one desperate and if possible decisive effort. He resolved to attack Eumenes in his winter quarters, when his troops were dispersed all over the country. The battle was fought near the sea, and Eumenes having the superiority in infantry, effectually routed the phalanx of Antigonus; but the enemy's horse had the advantage through the treachery of Paucestus, commander of the cavalry, who had secretly gone over to the interests of Antigonus. By the perfidious conduct of Paucestus, therefore, the infantry was left to combat alone. Antigonus perceiving that the engagement had raised a dust in the air wheeled round the army of Eumenes, and possessed himself of the baggage. This contrivance was of more advantage to him than a victory could have been. The soldiers of Eumenes returning into their camp, and being informed of the loss of their baggage, women, and children, became mutinous.

B. C. 315.

In this situation of the army, Teutamus, who commanded a battalion of the troops called the silver-shields, and who had long inclined to Antigonus, took this opportunity of sending to that general, and demanded the booty he had lately taken.

taken. Antigonus replied, that he would willingly restore the troops their baggage and all their property, provided they would deliver up Eumenes, who was not a Macedonian by birth, and who had been declared an enemy to the public. The greater part of the army agreed to the proposal of Antigonus; and among the first were the Argyraspidæ, or silver-shields. Eumenes was seized and his hands bound behind him. The troops then prepared to deliver him into the hands of Antigonus. Eumenes besought them to listen to what he was about to say, which being complied with, he unfolded to them the dangerous consequences that would result to the state, from rendering Antigonus absolute; and reproached them with the cruelty and injustice of their proceedings. He entreated, that they would put him to death, and thereby rescue him from the disgrace of suffering by the hands of a cruel and inveterate enemy; but he intreated in vain. He was conducted to the camp of Antigonus, who kept him a few days in confinement, and then commanded him to be executed.

The late signal success of Antigonus, opened a wide field for ambition, and he again formed the design of making himself master of all Asia. Many of the commanders, who lately opposed him, after the prosperous event of this battle, hastened to make their submission, and to proffer their aid and support in his undertaking. He readily accepted their acknowledgments of his superiority, but was backward in assuring them of his protection. In truth it was not his interest, and, therefore, not his design to protect them. The theatre on which he then appeared, extensive as it was, appeared too limited, and exhibited

too

too many actors for any one of them to become illustrious; and therefore he determined to lessen their number. He sacrificed several of the inferior governors to his ambition; and had not Seleucus still stood in the way, it is probable that his resentment and suspicions would have been allayed.

Seleucus had been appointed by Antipater governor of Babylon. He was an able and an enterprising commander; and had performed many signal services to Antigonus, who, nevertheless, demanded an account of the revenues of his province, which plainly discovered, that he considered him as a dependent. Seleucus was astonished at this request, and replied that he did not consider he was any more obliged to give an account, than Antigonus had to demand it; since the province of Babylon was conferred on him by the Macedonians, as the reward of his services. Antigonus persisted in his right to have satisfaction, and began to threaten. Seleucus, therefore, considering the great power of his enemy, and the little prospect there was, that he should be able to resist him, with the privacy and assistance of some of his officers got together a body of fifty horse, and quitting Babylon in the night, fled into Egypt.

That they might be secure in their possessions, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus entered into a confederacy, whereby they were bound to maintain the rights of each other, Antigonus being informed of this agreement, determined to proceed immediately to hostilities, and to obtain, if possible, the provinces of Syria and Phenicia, which were at that time in the possession of Ptolemy. Accordingly he marched an

 army

army with the greatest expedition, and before the enemy were aware, most of those provinces had submitted to him. Finding that he could not carry on a war against so many great and powerful princes, with any prospect of success, unless he could procure a fleet, which might co-operate with his land-forces, he ordered vast quantities of wood to be cut down upon mount Libanus, and in other parts of his dominions, and before the end of the year he was ready to put to sea with five hundred sail. His first expedition was directed against Tyre, which, after a siege of four months, opened its gates to him.

But when Antigonus was informed, that while he was thus employed in Phenicia, Cassander had led his forces towards the coasts of Asia minor, and had made himself master of several provinces, he marched an army to oppose him. In a short time, he encamped in the neighbourhood of Cassander; but that commander, sensible of the inferiority of his troops in point of numbers, declined an engagement.

During the time of the expedition of Antigonus into Asia minor, Ptolemy entered Syria with a numerous army; but he had advanced no farther than Gaza, when Demetrius, who had been left to command the troops in those parts, during the absence of his father, offered him battle. Ptolemy did not decline the engagement, but attacked and defeated the army of the enemy. Demetrius finding it impossible to resist the victorious forces, abandoned Phœnicia, Palestine, and Syria to the conqueror. Ptolemy flushed with his success, dispatched Cilles, one of his generals, with a very considerable army, to expel Demetrius from upper Syria, where he, with the remains

remains of his forces, still continued. Demetrius, having received intelligence, that Cilles was marching against him, determined to fall upon him unawares; and he executed his design with such celerity, that he totally defeated the enemy, and took seven thousand prisoners, in the number of whom was Cilles himself. When Antigonus, who was at that time in Phrygia, received the news of this victory, he joined his troops to those of his son, and obliging Ptolemy to retire into Egypt, the provinces of Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea, again became subject to their former master.

The defeat of Demetrius, at Gaza, enabled Ptolemy to assist Seleucus in his claims on Babylon. Accordingly Seleucus was furnished with a small body of troops, with which he marched to attempt the recovery of his kingdom. The army he commanded did not amount to more than thirteen hundred men, and he had to conduct them through that extensive territory which lies between Phœnicia and Babylon, many districts of which were peopled with men in the interests of Antigonus; but he accomplished his purpose, and was restored to a command to which his abilities and virtues justly entitled him. The attachment of his people, together with the vigour of his own mind, secured to him the province of Babylon and some neighbouring states.

Antigonus and Demetrius were now become the enemies of the whole Macedonian government. In Europe the dismemberment of the empire was dreaded; and in Asia and Africa, they expected a sovereign that should be arbitary and despotic. All became alarmed, and were ready to listen to any proposals, which might seem

seem to afford them some relief. A general confederacy was, therefore, formed against Antigonus and Demetrius; but the inactivity and resources of these men appeared inexhaustible. In Greece the Ætolians and Epirots, excited and supported by them, had taken the field against Cassander. Ptolemy had carried his arms into Asia minor, and sent his fleets to reduce the Ægean islands that leagued with Antigonus; to both these objects Antigonus was obliged to attend; whilst, on the other hand, Lysimachus and Cassander attacked the provinces on the banks of the Hellespont and Bosphorus. There also it was necessary for Antigonus and Demetrius to send forces: in short, they were beset with foes on every hand, but they, nevertheless, maintained their cause with astonishing vigour and success.

B.C. 306. While Athens was enjoying a state of tranquillity under the administration of the deputy of Cassander, Demetrius appeared off the Piræus, with a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. The Athenians, therefore, submitted to his powerful armament, and Demetrius Phalerius, the Governor, was expelled Athens. The first act of the new administration was to restore the democracy; the destructive effects of which were immediately felt. From Athens, Demetrius sailed to Rhodes, and formed the siege of that island. Cassander, in the mean while, endeavoured to regain possession of the city, but Demetrius returning, compelled him to raise the siege of Athens, and in a very little time stripped him of all his conquests. The result of this triumph was the submission of the greater part of Greece to the arms of Demetrius,

and

and he was appointed commander in chief of all the Grecian forces. All the cities from the straits of Thermopylæ to the isthmus of Corinth yielded to his prevailing power; and also many cities in Peloponnesus.

Cassander fearing lest Demetrius would pursue him into Macedon, sent deputies to Antigonus in Syria, to conclude a treaty of peace; but Antigonus required the unconditional submission of Cassander, and the renunciation of all claim, on his part, to the throne of Macedon. The confederacy was, therefore, strengthened against Antigonus and Demetrius, and was composed of the Macedonians, the Thracians, and the Egyptians, with several inferior states. Lysimachus had the command of the Thracians and a detachment of Macedonians; and Seleucus headed the Egyptians. Lysimachus hastened into Asia, and before winter arrived in Phrygia. He offered terms of accommodation to Antigonus; but that prince was too confident of success to listen to his proposals.

When the season of the year permitted, Demetrius transported his forces out of Greece into Asia, and joined the troops of his father. Soon

B.C. 301. after the two grand armies in Phrygia were ready for an engagement. The forces of Antigonus amounted to seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants: those of the confederates to sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty chariots of war. Both armies were anxious about the event of a battle, by which the fate of kingdoms was to be decided. Antigonus, who had never before been seen to shrink from danger,

danger, betrayed evident marks of fear on this occasion. Coming out of his tent on the morning of the battle, he stumbled and fell, which he superstitiously considered as a proof that his army should be defeated. This memorable and eventful engagement was fought near to Ipsus, a small town in the province of Phrygia. Both armies fought with bravery; and victory was long and ably contested. At length, however, the brave Antigonus lost his life; the Syrians were completely defeated; and Demetrius, with much difficulty, effected his escape at the head of nine thousand men. In consequence of this victory, the whole empire of Alexander was divided as follows: Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, and Palestine, were assigned to Ptolemy; Macedonia and Greece to Cassander; Bithynia and Thrace to Lysimachus; and the remaining territories in Asia, as far as the river Indus, which were called the kingdom of Syria, were given to Seleucus.

CHAP. XXI.

Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Battle of Ipsus to the time that those Countries became Provinces of Rome.

CASSANDER experienced, in his exalted station, all the inquietudes of sovereign power; and was encompassed by crafty and powerful enemies. He died, however, in the peaceable possession of the throne of Macedon, to which the greatest part of Greece was now annexed. After his death, his two sons,
B. C. 298. Antipater and Alexander, laid claim to the kingdom. Alexander invited Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and Demetrius, the son of

of Antigonus, to his assistance. Demetrius treacherously assassinated the young prince at an entertainment; and then justifying the death of Alexander in a formal harangue, the Macedonians immediately saluted him king. Instead of repairing the devastations that his kingdom had suffered from constant wars, Demetrius immediately engaged in new military enterprizes against Greece, Ætolia, Epirus and Thrace. He abandoned himself, at the same time, to luxury, vanity, and extreme haughtiness.

B. C. 294.

Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, invaded the Macedonian territories with a numerous and powerful army; Lysimachus poured his troops into the same country, on the side of Thrace; and Ptolemy attacked with a fleet the dominions of Demetrius in Greece. Demetrius, therefore, was obliged to abandon his kingdom; and though he made several attempts to regain possession of it, he was unsuccessful. Pyrrhus assumed the sovereignty of Macedon; but was in a little time expelled the kingdom by Lysimachus, who had acted in concert with him in the revolution of that country. Dessensions, however, arose in the family of Lysimachus, tween his different queens and their offspring, that terminated, as is generally the case, in despotic governments, in an act of assassination, which determined the injured faction to request the assistance of Seleucus. This prince, though seventy-seven years of age, had the activity and vigour of a young man, willingly heard the insinuations of the enemies of Lysimachus, as he expected to annex the kingdom of Macedon and the states of Greece to the dominions he then possessed.

B. C. 285.

possessed. He, therefore, met Lysimachus on a plain, on the borders of Phrygia, called the Field of Cyrus. Lysimachus was in the seventy-fourth year of his age. They were the only surviving generals of Alexander, and both fought with great bravery. The army of Lysimachus was defeated, and that commander slain.

Animated by a warm desire of taking possession of Macedon, Seleucus passed the Hellespont, and advanced with an army as far as Lysimachia in Thrace. In the neighbourhood of that city, however, he was basely murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, whom he had generously relieved, and for whose sake he had commenced the war.

Ptolemy having performed this execrable deed, put on a diadem, and boldly declared himself king of Macedon. Not long after, a body of three hundred thousand Gauls leaving their country in quest of new settlements, followed the course of the Danube for a considerable way, and then divided into three parties, one of which made an irruption into the Macedonian kingdom. An obstinate and bloody engagement ensued, in which Ptolemy was taken prisoner and his head cut off, which was carried through the ranks on the top of a lance. Sosthenes, with the remains of the Macedonian troops, attacked and defeated the Gauls; but a fresh swarm of these barbarians, under the command of Brennus, attacked and cut Sosthenes and his army to pieces.

B. C. 280.

These barbarous hordes having ravaged the whole country, left Macedon, and bent their course towards Greece. The Grecian states, animated by a sense of their extreme danger, collected

collected their troops, and secured the straits of Thermopylæ. The Athenians, under the command of Galippus, headed this enterprise, and sent their fleets to the coasts of Thessaly, to co-operate with the forces by land. The barbarians, after several fruitless attempts to force the passs, and repeated losses of men, were obliged to desist. Brennus then dispersed some of his troops over Ætolia, to plunder that country, hoping by this stratagem to draw off the enemy from guarding the straits; still, however, he was unable to force a passage; and the detachment of his troops which had been sent into Ætolia, exciting by their rapacity and cruelty universal detestation, were many of them cut off.

But the Thessalians, induced by the hope of freeing themselves of those burthensome strangers, at length directed Brennus to the path over mount Œta, by which the troops of Xerxes had entered Greece. He immediately proceeded to the temple at Delphos, with the design of plundering the sacred shrine of its accumulated treasures. The inhabitants of Delphos, however, inspired by an enthusiasm of religion, made a vigorous sally, and defeated the enemy with great loss: the pursuit was continued for a whole day and night; and a violent storm and piercing cold co-operating with the victors, most of the barbarians perished. Brennus was wounded, and being distracted with religious horror, killed himself. Those who survived, having assembled together, endeavoured to retreat; but the several nations rising against them as they passed, not one of those multitudes, which poured out of Macedon into Greece, returned to his native land.

After the death of Sosthenes, and the evacuation of

of the kingdom of Macedon by the Gauls, B. C. 278. Antigonus Gonatus, the son of Demetrius, assumed the sovereignty. The barbarians threatened another irruption into Macedon, and sent deputies to know whether he was inclined to purchase a peace. The king entertained them with great splendour, and shewing them his camp, his army, and his treasures, told them he was not disposed to give that away which ought to be employed in protecting and defending his subjects. The barbarians allured by the riches they had seen, marched into the territories of Macedon, and plundered the camp of the enemy, which had been purposely left. Antigonus attacked the Gauls encumbered with booty, and defeated them with great slaughter.

Before, however, that he could restore the kingdom to its ancient lustre, he was obliged to contend with an adversary more powerful than the Gauls. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, indignant at the conduct of Antigonus, who had refused to grant some succours which he requested, invaded the frontiers of Macedonia, and was joined by some of the soldiers of Antigonus, who deserted the standard of their monarch. An engagement ensued between the two kings, in which the forces of Antigonus were defeated, and most of them cut off, and he himself was under the necessity of quitting his kingdom. Returning again, however, after the departure of Pyrrhus, who left his son Ptolemy to govern his newly acquired dominions, he suffered a second defeat, and escaped with only seventeen attendants.

While these transactions took place in Macedonia, Cleonymus pretending to the throne of Sparta, after the death of Eudamidas, endeavoured

voured to exclude Arcus from the kingdom. The people, however, inclining to favour the latter, Cleonymus applied for redress to Pyrrhus, who marched an army into the Lacedæmonian territory. Pyrrhus had with him twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants. Arcus was at this time absent in the island of Crete with the flower of the Lacedæmonian army. After an obstinate assault upon the city, which was as obstinately resisted, and which was carried on for three days successively, Pyrrhus was compelled to retire towards his own dominions. Antigonus and Arcus, who had arrived at Sparta to succour the place, harassed his rear in the retreat. Pyrrhus ordered his son Ptolemy to assist the attacked troops; but the young prince exposing himself too much, was slain. The king of Epirus directed his course to Argos; but Arcus followed him to that city with a thousand infantry, and while the Argives engaged the army of Pyrrhus in front, the Spartans attacked them in the rear. By these means, the Epirots suffered very considerably, and Pyrrhus was struck dead with a stone, and his head cut off by an officer of the enemy. With regard to the character of Pyrrhus, it will be sufficient to observe, that Hannibal thought him the greatest general the world had ever beheld, and that Scipio was only the second.

After the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus resumed the sovereignty of Macedon. As he had also very extensive possessions in the heart of Peloponnesus, the neighbouring states became jealous of his power, and formed a confederacy against him. The Gauls also threatened another irruption into his territories. Antigonus, however, engaged the barbarians in a general battle, and

and cut them off to a man. After this victory, the Macedonian king meditated nothing less than the reduction of all Greece. He marched an army to Athens; and notwithstanding that city was powerfully supported by troops from Sparta and Egypt, he compelled it to receive a Macedonian garrison. In the midst of his success, however, he was recalled to the defence of his kingdom against Alexander, the young king of Epirus, who had entered Macedon, and committed great depredations: but ambition still led him to pursue new conquests. After employing much time in the attempt, he at length made himself master of the city of Corinth, which was again surprised and taken from him. He died when he was above eighty years of age, thirty-four of which he had been king of Macedon.

B.C. 243. Demetrius succeeded his father Antigonus in the sovereignty. The principal transactions of his reign were intended to maintain an interest in the Grecian states, not by possessing the dominion himself, but by supporting the several tyrants who had usurped it.

B.C. 237. Demetrius reigned only six years, and was succeeded by his kinsman Antigonus.

About this time the republic of Achaia, which had been formerly little known, began to make a very conspicuous figure, and seemed to aim at nothing less than the sovereignty of all Greece. This state was of high antiquity, and consisted of twelve towns.

The republic of Ætolia was, in the times of which we are writing, second in power to that of Achaia, and formed on the same plan.

In consequence of the influx of wealth, Lacedæmon

dæmon had by this time exchanged poverty and hardy discipline for opulence and voluptuous manners. Agis, the Spartan king, endeavoured to restore the ancient simplicity of that people, to enforce the sumptuary laws, to cancel all debts, and to make a new division of lands. The people in generally relished the proposals; but the few in whose hands the wealth of Sparta centered, opposed them; and Agis was at length punished with death, on pretence of attempting a revolution in the government.

In such a situation of affairs, Cleomenes mounted the Spartan throne; a prince who possessed an ardent passion for glory, united with great temperance and simplicity of manners. In the beginning of his reign he was under the necessity of exerting himself to support the tottering power of the state. Domestic distress with its concomitant evils, had caused an almost universal languor, despondency, and depopulation, throughout Laconia. Such was the miserable decay of both public and private virtue, when Cleomenes, actuated no less by his natural disposition, than by the representations of the Ætolians, proceeded to an open rupture with the Achæan states.

B. C. 242.

The Spartan king attacked and took Tegea, Mantinæa, and Orchomenes, cities in Arcadia. He then marched his army against a certain castle in the district of Megalopolis, which commanded the entrance of Laconia on that side. Immediately after these acts of hostility, the states of Achaia declared war against Sparta. Cleomenes took the field with his troops, which were not numerous, but inspired with the greatest ardour for military enterprizes. The Achæans marched against him with twenty thousand in-

fantry

fantry and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes, with not more than five thousand troops, offered battle to the enemy. Aratus being intimidated by the bravery of this proceeding, would not permit the general to hazard an engagement. In consequence therefore of the retreat of the Achæans, Aratus suffered the reproaches of his own troops and the raillery of the enemy; and the Eleans, who had never been the steady friends of Achaia, openly declared against that republic. He afterwards defeated the Achæans in a second encounter; but Aratus taking advantage even of his defeat, turned his arms immediately against Mantinæa, and before the enemy were aware of his designs, made himself master of that city, which he garrisoned with a body of troops.

The Achæans attempting to chastise the defection of the Eleans, were again routed by Cleomenes; and in the next campaign were totally overthrown near Leuctra. After finishing these campaigns he returned to Sparta, with the mercenary troops only. He sent a small detachment of forces, who surprised the ephori at supper, and killed four of them immediately; and the fifth was only saved by feigning himself dead. He endeavoured to justify this sanguinary measure, by arraigning the unconstitutional establishment of this order of magistrates, and by reciting many of their iniquitous proceedings.

Cleomenes having thus made himself master of Sparta, advanced with his troops into the territories of Megalopolis, and committed great devastations. He took several places from the Achæans; ravaged the possessions of their allies; and followed the retreating army of the enemy. The Achæans having encamped with all their

troops

troops in the territories of Dymæ, Cleomenes pursued them thither, attacked them and obtained a complete victory. The Mantinæans rebelled against the Achæan garrison, stationed in their city, put them all to the sword, and then placed themselves under the protection of the Spartans. Most of the other cities in Peloponnesus exhibited the same spirit of defection, and revolted to the same people. The Achæans were extremely dejected at these losses, and became apprehensive of the greatest calamities from Sparta. In this extremity they sued for peace from Cleomenes; but Aratus, who had lately declined the office of general of the Achæan states, again resumed his authority in public affairs. He therefore used all his efforts to dissuade the Achæans from accepting any conditions of peace, which might be proposed in return by Cleomenes.

The interruption of the negociations for peace raised a general ferment throughout Peloponnesus. The conduct of Aratus fired the martial and ambitious mind of Cleomenes. Most of the Achæan states began to revolt, and separate from the confederacy, because the people had hoped for a division of the lands, and a discharge of their debts, and also grew weary of the power of Aratus.

Cleomenes would gladly have engaged the friendship of Aratus, but that politician was immovable in his designs of destroying the Spartan authority. As he found, however, that the Achæans could not effect this of themselves, he entertained the project of calling in the assistance of Antigonus, king of Macedon, to accomplish his intentions, a measure held in almost universal odium by the Greeks. Aratus, however,

B. C. 227. ever, contrived to surmount this difficulty by artifice, and Antigonus with great pleasure embraced the opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Greece. A treaty was agreed on by Aratus and Antigonus, which from the conditions of it was evident that the liberties of Achaia were no more, and that Antigonus was the real sovereign of that country.

This transaction roused the indignation of the Peloponnesians, who looked to Cleomenes as the only protector of their liberties. In the mean time Antigonus began his march towards Peloponnesus, at the head of twenty thousand foot and fourteen hundred horse, and arriving at the isthmus encamped over against Cleomenes, who had fortified with a ditch and rampart the whole space between Corinth and the Onian hills. Antigonus not thinking it advisable, or even practicable, to force a passage, was preparing to decamp and transport his troops by sea to Sicyon. Meanwhile, however, the Argives having revolted from the Spartans and joined the enemy, Cleomenes was apprehensive that the Achæans would attack him in the rear, while the Macedonians assaulted his front, and therefore retired with precipitation, first to Argos and then to Mantinæa.

The Achæans now resumed their superiority in Peloponnesus; and Corinth, Tegæa, Mantinæa, Horea, and Telphassa, with many other places, immediately submitted to the combined arms of Macedon and Achaia. Antigonus having sent his troops into Macedonia during the winter, Cleomenes attacked and took the city of Megalopolis, which was plundered by the soldiers, and every thing of value in it demolished. He also laid waste the Argian territories. Antigonus

tigonus was at that time in Argos with a few mercenary soldiers; but though the enemy insulted him and abused the confederates, he could not be prevailed on to engage Cleomenes. The Argives pressed Antigonus to take the field and protect his friends, or to resign the command to some person less timorous than himself, but the king remained deaf to all their reproaches and remonstrances.

In the beginning of the summer, however, being desirous of retrieving the reputation he had lost among the Achæans, he advanced into Laconia with an army of twenty-eight thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. Cleomenes, however, had previously fortified all the passes and avenues into that country with ramparts, and sent detachments of troops to defend them. He also marched himself with a body of twenty thousand foot, and encamped at a pass called Sellasia, formed by two hills, the Eva and Olympus. Cleomenes having thrown up an entrenchment at the foot of these high and steep mountains, posted the auxiliaries on the eminence of Eva, under the command of his brother Euclidas, while he himself, with the rest of the army, took possession of Olympus. Between those two hills ran the river Oenus, along the banks of which the road to Sparta extended.

When Antigonus arrived and viewed the situation of the ground, with the fortifications and mode of defence adopted by the enemy, he was sensible that no part could be attacked with any probability of success. He therefore encamped at a small distance, on the banks of the Gorgulus, which covered part of his army. Cleomenes, reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions, was under the necessity of throwing open his

his entrenchments, and of engaging the enemy without further delay. The victory remained for a long time doubtful: but at length Cleomenes receiving intelligence that the forces under his brother were defeated upon the hill, and that his cavalry began to give way on the plain, sounded a retreat. The overthrow then became general; great numbers of the Lacedæmonians were cut in pieces, and those who found means to escape fled from the field of battle in the greatest confusion. Cleomenes, with a few horse, retreated to Sparta, and from thence fled to Egypt, where, not being able to brook the indignities offered him by the ministers of Ptolemy Philopater, he suffered an honourable but untimely death. In Cleomenes ended the Herculean race of Spartan kings, if we except the short reign of Agasipolis.

B. C. 223.

While Antigonus was absent in Greece, the Illyreans invaded Macedon with a powerful army. Being, therefore, recalled to the defence of his kingdom, he advanced with his troops against the Illyrians, whom he attacked and defeated. Straining his voice, however, during the engagement, he burst a blood vessel, which occasioned his death in a few days, to the regret of all Greece.

Antigonus the second was succeeded by Philip the son of Demetrius, the last of the Macedonians kings of that name. At the time of his accession to the throne this prince was only in the seventeenth year of his age: he was intelligent, affable, munificent, and attentive to the duties of his station.

B. C. 221.

The jealousy which the Ætolians had for a long time entertained of the Achæan states, was now increased by the importance they had assumed

sumed from their alliance with Macedon. Immediately, therefore, after Antigonus was dead, they ravaged the Achæan coast, and committed great depredations on all the neighbouring countries. Aratus attacked them with a very inferior force, and the Ætolians gained a complete victory. The Achæans were, therefore, under the necessity of again applying to Macedon, and to request the assistance of the new monarch. Philip promised that he would aid them with the whole strength of his kingdom; and accordingly soon after set out for Greece, and arrived at Corinth.

Complaints being made against the Ætolians by almost every city in Peloponnesus, war was unanimously declared by Philip and the confederates. In the mean time, the Ætolians having made a fresh irruption into Peloponnesus, sacked Cynætha, a city of Arcadia, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and laid the place in ruins. This conduct of the Ætolians increased the general indignation of the Peloponnesians against that people, and the social war commenced.

The Ætolians, however, being joined by the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, attacked the Achæan states on all sides, and gained very considerable advantage. Philip marched an army into Epirus, and laid siege to Ambracia, garrisoned by the Ætolians, of which he made himself master in forty days. While Philip employed his arms against that city, a numerous army of Ætolians, under the command of Scopas, entered Macedon, and ravaging the country without opposition, returned home laden with plunder. After the surrender of Ambracia Philip entered Ætolia, all of which he would soon have reduced had

had he not been recalled home to repress the incursions of the Dardanians.

In the mean time the Ætolians, under the command of Dorinachus, entered the territory of upper Epirus, laid waste the whole country, and burned the temple of Dodona to the ground. Philip having notice of these proceedings marched with great haste to Corinth, where a party of his forces were stationed. While the king proceeded to Caphya, he met with a detachment of Eleans, who were advancing to plunder the territory of Sicyon. These he attacked and cut off. He then reduced Psophis, a strong hold within the confines of Arcadia, of which the Eleans had taken possession, and soon after entered and laid waste the territories of the Eleans, the finest country in Greece, with respect to cultivation, and rich in every kind of rural wealth. Philip then brought under subjection the whole country of the Trymphalians, a people that inhabited a district of Peloponnesus to the south of Elis, and wrested the Messenians from the yoke of Ætolia.

In the midst, however, of these favourable appearances, the king began to manifest some latent seeds of ambition. Apelles, a minister appointed by Antigonus, endeavoured to reduce the Achæans to slavery; but Aratus complaining to the king of the conduct of Apelles, the pride and power of that minister were immediately repressed. In a little time, however, Philip espoused the part of Eperatus, who was elected general of the Achæans, in opposition to Aratus. That he might counterbalance this unpopular measure, and strengthen himself in the affections of the people of Achaia, he laid siege to Teichos, which he took and restored to the Achæans, its original

PAGE NO- 445 MISSING IN ORIGINAL

that after uniting their arms and reducing the power of the Roman people, they should pursue their conquests in Greece, for the purpose of extending the dominions of Macedon.

In vain did Aratus dissuade Philip from this project. He entered the Ionian gulf with a large fleet, took Oricum, on the coast of Epire, and laid siege to Apollonia. Here, however, he was surprised and defeated by the Romans, and retreated homewards across the mountains.

The Romans, greatly humbled by the victorious arms of Hannibal, were not in a condition, at that time, to prosecute a war with Macedon; but they determined, if possible, to raise up enemies against Philip in Greece. Accordingly overtures were made to the Ætolians, who, confiding in the flattering declarations of the Roman ambassador, not only concluded a treaty themselves, but engaged Sparta and Elis, together with the Illyrians, in the cause of Rome.

B.C. 211. Hostilities immediately commenced, and the Romans having taken Zacynthus, Æniadæ, and Nasus, restored them to the Ætolians. Machanidas the tyrant of Sparta invaded the territories of the Achæans, who sent a deputation to Philip, to request his assistance. Philip lost no time in marching into Greece to defend the possessions of his allies; and the Ætolians, under Pyrrhus, who was appointed commander that year, in conjunction with king Attalus, advanced to meet him as far as Lamia. A battle ensued, in which the Ætolians and their allies were discomfited; and another engagement soon after took place, in which Philip gained a decisive victory.

The Macedonian king next marched against Elis, which had received an Ætolian garrison.

After

mfter plundering the territory, he was attacked by the confederate army, among whom were four thousand Romans commanded by the proconsul Sulpitius. The battle was long and obstinately fought. Here Philopœmen, who led the Achæan horse, struck dead with his lance, the commander of the Ætolian cavalry. Philip seeing his troops give way, rushed headlong among the enemies, and was with the greatest difficulty saved by the Macedonians. After having desolated the whole territory, the monarch returned towards Macedonia, to defend his kingdom against the ravages of the Dardians.

Early in the spring, Sulpitius and Attalus quitting their winter-quarters, sailed to Eubœa, and obtained possession of Orcum in that island. Attalus also laid siege to the city of Opus in Achaia, which he took, but Philip coming with his army he retired precipitately towards his ships.

In the mean time Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmon, advanced with a powerful army into Achaia. He could not, however, have chosen a more improper time for his expedition; for Philopœmen was that year created general of the Achæan states. No sooner was he raised to this important office, than he began to re-establish military discipline among the troops. Having assembled his army at Mantinæa, he gave battle to Machanidas. An obstinate conflict ensued. Machanidas at first had the advantage; but pursuing the flying troops too far, Philopœmen attacked him in the rear. He also struck Machanidas with a spear, and killed him: the death of the tyrant put an end to the battle, in which the Lacedæmonians lost four thousand men.

Not long after the death of Machanidas, Sparta

groaned beneath the yoke of a still more cruel
B. C. 206. tyrant called Nabis, who in addition to the other vices common to tyranny, was actuated by a violent spirit of avarice. He banished most of the wealthy citizens from Sparta, that he might seize their riches. And many he caused to be assassinated. He had received Argos from Philip, in pledge for the money which he had lent that monarch. He there practised the most shocking cruelties. He had invented a machine in the form of a statue resembling his wife, the breast, arms, and hands of which were full of pegs of iron, covered with magnificent garments. If any one refused to give him money, he was introduced to this machine, which, by means of certain springs caught fast hold of him, and that he might deliver himself from this exquisite torture, readily granted whatever Nabis desired.

The Ætolians finding themselves deserted by the Romans, concluded a peace with Philip. Soon after, Publius Sempronius the proconsul, arrived with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty-five gallies, to the assistance of the Ætolians. He was easily prevailed on by that people, to agree to an accommodation between the Romans and the king of Macedon. Accordingly a treaty of amity was entered into;
B. C. 203. and Philip caused the king of Bithynia, the Achæans, the Bœotians, the Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots, to be included in the treaty. The Romans on their side named king Attalus, Pleuratus a petty prince of Illyricum, Nabis tyrant of Sparta, the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians.

Philip having settled his affairs at home, and finding that the fortune of the Carthaginians was declining,

declining, endeavoured to extend his dominions in the east. He therefore attacked the Rhodians, Athenians, and king Attalus, contrary to the express terms of the treaty. Whereupon, at the request of the Athenians, war was declared against him by the Romans, and Sulpitius the consul appointed to carry it on. The Romans dispatched a fleet for the relief of Athens, then besieged by the Macedonians. Disappointed, therefore, in his purposes, Philip laid waste the whole territory.

The command of the Roman army devolving on Titus Quintius Flaminius, that general had the address to detach the Achæans from the Macedonian interest. An engagement soon after took place near the mountains of Cynocephalæ, in Thessaly, in which Philip was defeated with the loss of thirteen thousand men; while the Romans lost not more than seven hundred. The Macedonian king was now obliged to sue for peace, on such conditions as Rome and her allies were pleased to impose.

B. C. 197.

Flaminius having expelled Nabis the tyrant of Sparta from Argos, left Greece to enjoy the liberty and happiness he had restored, and returned to Rome with all the Roman garrisons.

The Ætolians were the only Grecian people dissatisfied with the peace; on account of some cities which had been withheld from them. They therefore insinuated to Nabis the contemptible condition to which he was reduced by the Romans; and that Achaia possessed all Peloponnesus, while he was permitted to retain Sparta only. Nabis was well inclined to undertake any thing they proposed against the Romans, and therefore immediately laid siege to Gitium. Philopœmen, however, cut off his army soon after

near Sparta, and besieged the tyrant in that city.
B. C. 192. Nabis was soon after killed by a body of Ætolians, who surprised Sparta, and that state joined the Achæan confederacy.

In the mean while the Ætolians persuaded Antiochus, king of Syria, to pass over into Greece, with an intent to expel the Romans from that country. Accordingly he entered Greece with a small force; but being disappointed of the succours he expected from the Grecian states, was defeated at the streights of Thermopylæ, by Manius Acilius Glabrio, the Roman consul. A deputation was soon after sent from the Ætolians to solicit a peace from the Roman people.

The conditions of the treaty were extremely hard. They were heavily fined, compelled to give up several of their cities and territories to the Romans, and to deliver to the consul forty hostages, to be chosen by him, none under twelve, nor above forty years of age. They were also commanded to pay *observance* to the *empire* and *majesty* of the Roman people.

The Roman senate began now to take umbrage at the power and reputation of the Achæans. Though confederated with Achaia, each of the Peloponnesian cities retained its peculiar privileges, and a species of independent sovereignty. After peace had been concluded with Ætolia, and Cephallenia reduced, M. Fulvius Nobilior resided in that island to decide, as he said, any disputes which should arise in Greece, but in fact to improve and foment every dissension for the aggrandizement of the Roman republic. The general assembly of the Achæans had been always held at Ægium; but Philopœmen, who was now at the head of that state, thought fit to divide the honour and advantages of

of the congress, among the several cities of the league, and had appointed Argos for the next diet. But the inhabitants of Ægium opposed this regulation, and appealed to the decision of the Roman consul in Cephallenia.

Besides this, Fulvius had another pretext for passing over into Greece. During the tyranny which existed in Sparta, many of the Lacedæmonians had been driven into exile, and inhabited the maritime cities of Laconia, protected by Achæan garrisons. These men had cut off the inhabitants of Lacedæmon from all intercourse with the sea-coast. This restraint the Spartans could not brook, and, therefore, attacked in the night a small city called Las; but were repulsed. Philopœmen represented to the assembly this attempt as an insult offered to all Achaia; and a decree was enacted, that the Lacedæmonians should deliver up the authors of that outrage, on pain of being considered as enemies. The Lacedæmonians not only refused to obey the decree, but put the Achæans to death who were sent to inform them of it, and then dispatched ambassadors to Fulvius, requesting him to come and take possession of their city. Philopœmen, however, advanced with an army into Laconia, and laid waste the territories. By the emissaries of the Romans too, the Messenians had been prevailed on to take up arms against the Achæans; and Philopœmen hastening to suppress the insurgents, fell into their hands, and was put to death. The Romans, by this means, being invited to act as umpires, soon found means to destroy the strength of Achaia, by seducing its confederate states.

During these transactions in Greece, the Romans were endeavouring to quarrel with Philip

king

king of Macedon, that they might seize his possessions, and deprive him of his power. For that purpose they encouraged the cantons or communities, which Philip had lately annexed to his dominions to assert their independence; and commissioners being sent from Rome to settle that matter, the king was ordered to content himself with Macedon in its ancient state; and by a formal decree was required to withdraw his garrisons from Ænus and Maronea, maritime towns of Thrace. Philip accordingly was obliged to withdraw his troops from those cities; but at the same time determined to revenge himself on the Maronites, whose complaints had procured the decree. As the soldiers, therefore, were leaving Maronea, a body of Thracians was privately admitted into the town, who plundered the city with all the circumstances of cruelty and avarice, which could possibly be imagined. The Roman deputies obtained certain intelligence of this atrocious deed, and the king was summoned to justify himself before the senate.

Though Philip considered this injunction as the most mortifying indignity that could be offered to an independent prince, he was nevertheless under the necessity of complying with the conditions imposed. He, therefore, sent his son Demetrius to apologize for his conduct before the Roman senate. When the young prince heard the articles of impeachment read against Philip, he was so affected that he was unable to utter a word in the defence of his father. His modesty had a favourable effect on the senators; and he was encouraged to read the notes he had brought for the justification of the king, whose

excuses

excuses were accepted. Demetrius carried home a ratification of a treaty, with this express clause, that Philip owed it entirely to their regard for his son.

This circumstance was not at all agreeable to the king, who feared that the Romans were endeavouring to attach Demetrius more to their own interest, than to that of Macedon. This suspicion was inflamed by the insinuations and dark artifices of his eldest son Perseus, a prince, who is said to have been of a turbulent, licentious disposition, sordid, ungenerous, and subtle.

Perseus had conceived such a jealousy of his brother, that he endeavoured by every insidious action, to undermine his favour with the king. He accused Demetrius of an attempt to murder him at the instigation of the Romans. Demetrius, on the other hand, defended himself with equal spirit and resolution; refuting the charge as groundless, and recriminating upon his brother for his unnatural malice and ambition. Philip blamed Demetrius for acting in such a maner, as to give the least pretence for his brother's charge; and reprehended Perseus for putting the worst construction on dubious actions. In order, however, that he might remove from his own breast all doubts as to the intentions of his younger son, the king sent Philocles and Apelles, two Macedonian noblemen, as his ambassadors to Rome. They were privately instructed to inquire into the conduct of Demetrius in that city, and to find out with whom he corresponded, and what schemes he had formed.

These ambassadors perceiving that the affections of Philip inclined to Perseus, concerted with him what report they should make, on their

return

return from Rome. The result of their contrivances was, that when Philocles and Apelles came back to Macedon, they spoke tenderly of Demetrius, and presented the king with a letter from Quintus Flaminicus, with whose seal and hand-writing Philip was well acquainted. In this letter the Roman interceded earnestly for his younger son, and excused his evil actions on account of his youth. He besought the king to forget the measures of which he had been guilty, that he might supplant his brother; and he exhorted him to comply with this advice, as the Romans would not countenance the criminality of Demetrius, in aiming at the throne.

Philip now made no doubt but he had discovered the whole truth, gave orders to one of his generals to arrest Demetrius, and to take him off by poison, lest the Macedonians, who loved him, should be informed of what was intended. The poison, however, working slowly, and the young man complaining much, two ruffians were employed, who smothered the innocent and hopeful prince. Philip, however, was soon after apprised of the injustice of this proceeding, and that the letter had been forged to answer the purposes of Perseus. After receiving this information, he fell into a melancholy, that differed very little from madness, and which in a little time put an end to his existence.

B.C. 179. Upon the death of Philip, Perseus assumed the reins of government. The first measures of his administration were remarkably mild, and he affected a strict regard to justice. He assumed an air of benignity and gentleness. He sat daily to hear causes, and his decisions were generally made with prudence and discernment. The same disposition which he displayed

displayed towards his own subjects, he exhibited in his conduct with foreign states. He sent an embassy to the Romans, entreating them to renew the treaty made with his father, and to acknowledge him king of Macedon; in return for which he promised that he would act as their faithful ally, and undertake no war without their permission. The senate, therefore, acknowledged his title to the throne, and pronounced him the friend of the Roman people.

His conduct was so gracious, and his insinuations and intrigues with his neighbours so effectual, that most of the Grecian states inclined to Perseus, who soon pretended to be the patron of Greek liberty against the pride and dominion of Rome. In his own kingdom, he not only amassed great sums of money, but provided magazines for a numerous army for ten years, and kept up, at the same time, a military establishment of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse.

The Romans, informed of these proceedings, dispatched ambassadors to Macedon to question Perseus as to the authenticity of these reports. The king, however, only answered with pride and insolence, and a war commenced between the two nations. An army was immediately sent into Greece, under the command of P. Licinius Crassus, which for three years did nothing worthy of notice. At length, however, the Romans, dissatisfied with the conduct of the war in Macedonia, resolved to change their generals. Accordingly, the consul Paulus Æmilius was vested with the command of the army in that kingdom, and soon after attacked and drove Perseus from his entrenchments on the banks of the river Enipeus, who retired precipitately to Pydna. Here both armies came to a general engagement,

engagement, and the Macedonians being broken and routed with a great slaughter, Perseus fled with a few horsemen to Pella, the chief and strongest city in Macedon. Perseus, however, who could not think himself any where safe, fled from thence as precipitately as from the battle, and marched with incredible expedition to Amphipolis. Fearing that the Amphipolitans would deliver him into the hands of the Romans, he mounted a tribunal in order to harangue them; but his tears flowed so fast, that after several attempts he found it impracticable to make an oration. The inhabitants refusing to permit him to stay any longer in that city, he hastened to the sea-coast, from whence he sailed to the island of Samothrace, and sought refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux.

Abandoned now by all the world, without forces, without friends, and without hope, he surrendered himself and his eldest son Philip into the hands of Octavius, who conveyed them immediately to Amphipolis, and then dispatched an express to inform the consul of what had happened. Perseus approached the consul with the most abject servility, bowing his face to the earth, and endeavouring with his suppliant arms to grasp his knees. "Wretched man!" said Æmilius, "why dost thou acquit fortune of what might seem her crime, by a behaviour that evinces thou deservest not her indignation? Why dost thou disgrace my laurels, by shewing thyself an abject adversary, and unworthy of having a Roman to contend with?" He then gave him his hand, and would not suffer him to kneel; and encouraged him with an assurance of safety from the clemency of the Roman people.

The Roman army plundered all that part of Epirus

PAGE NO- 457 MISSING IN ORIGINAL

present year, arrived from Rome with new levies, which increased the army to twenty-three thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse. With these forces he advanced towards Corinth against the enemy, who had shut themselves up in that city with fourteen thousand foot and six thousand horse, under the command of Diæus. An engagement took place under the walls of Corinth, and the Greeks were defeated; the greater part fled into the town, but in the night withdrew from that place; and Diæus himself took refuge in Megalopolis, whither he had before sent his family. He killed his wife to prevent her from falling into the hands of the enemy, and then took poison, of which he died. On the third day after the action the victorious general entered Corinth, and with the exception only of the statues and pictures intended for his triumph; gave the town, abounding with all the accommodations and ornaments of a wealthy metropolis, to be plundered by his soldiers.
B. C. 146. The walls were then razed; and the city reduced to ashes. Thus perished Corinth in the same year with Carthage.

Soon after ten commissioners arrived from Rome, to regulate, in conjunction with the consul, the affairs of Greece in general, and of Achaia in particular; these abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates, who were to govern each state according to their respective laws, under the superintendency of a Roman prætor. Thus the Achæan league was dissolved, and all Greece reduced to a Roman province, called the province of Achaia, because at the taking of Corinth, the Achæans were the most powerful body of Greece. The

whole

whole nation paid an annual tribute to Rome, and the prætor, who was sent thither every year, had the care of collecting it.

Athens continued in the same state as the rest of the Grecian communities, until the Mithri-
B. C. 88. datic war, when that city openly declared against the Romans. Mithridates dispatched into Greece an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, under the command of Archelaus, who soon made himself master of Athens, and compelled Lacedæmon, Achaia, and Bœotia, to join him also. He took up his abode in Athens. Sylla being appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates, entered Greece with five legions, and all the cities except Athens, immediately opened their gates to him.

He first attempted to force his way into the Piræus by scaling the walls; but being repulsed had recourse to the ordinary means of attack. He erected towers, and raising them to the same height as the battlements, got upon the same level as the besieged, and plied them with missile weapons. Battering engines assailed the walls, or with galleries he undermined them; but the defence of the place was equally obstinate and vigorous; and he was obliged, after many fruitless attempts, to turn the siege into a blockade, and to wait the effects of famine.

It was in a little time brought to the last extremity. Those who were confined within the walls having consumed all the herbage, and killed all the animals in the place, were under the necessity of feeding on the implements of leather, or other materials which might be turned into sustenance, and at last to prey on the carcases of their dead companions. The garrison was greatly

greatly diminished; and those who remained were dispirited and weak; but Aristion, the tyrant of the place, expecting no quarter for himself from the Romans, would not consent to capitulate. Sylla, therefore, knowing the weak state of the besieged, stormed and forced the walls with great slaughter. Aristion
B. C. 87. sought refuge in the citadel, but was taken and slain. Macedonia and Greece were soon afterwards reduced again under the power of Rome, as were also the Grecian provinces in Asia minor.

The Greeks were never surpassed by any race of men in the vigour with which they supported their republican establishments; and they appeared to retain their ingenuity and their skill in many arts, long after they had lost the military and political spirit which constitutes the strength and security of nations. Both the enmity and the friendship of the Roman republic proved equally fatal to the Grecian states: the one deprived them of freedom; the other sunk them into indolence and apathy.

END OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY.

T. Gillet, Printer, Salisbury-square.